

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. CREEDS AS TESTS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP. <i>Wolcott Calkins, D. D.</i>	237
2. THE PROBLEM OF PAUPERISM. <i>Amory H. Bradford, D. D.</i>	256
3. A MODERN PREACHER, AGOSTINO DA MONTEFELTRO. <i>Ashton R. Willard, Esq.</i>	268
4. PROFESSOR ALLEN'S "JONATHAN EDWARDS," WITH EXTRACTS FROM COPIES OF UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS. <i>Professor Smyth</i>	285
5. EDITORIAL.	
THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF NEGROES	305
THE PROGRESS OF THE DISCUSSION ON REVISION	308
REV. JOSEPH HARDY NEESIMA, LL. D.	313
6. THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.	
A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES. VII. MADAGASCAR. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i>	317
7. NOTES FROM ENGLAND. <i>Mr. Joseph King, Jr., M. A.</i>	322
8. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Caird's The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant, 325. — Mahaffy and Bernard's Kant's Critical Philosophy for English Readers, 328. — Simon's The Redemption of Man, 328. — Purinton's Christian Theism, 330. — S. Alexander's Moral Order and Progress, 331. — Wedgwood's The Moral Ideal, 333. — A. Alexander's Theory of Conduct, 335.	
Westphal's Les Sources du Pentateuque, 335. — Baudissin's Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums, 337. — Griffin's The Lily among Thorns, 338. — Socin's Arabische Grammatik, 339. — Schürer's Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 340.	
Manning's Sermons and Addresses, 342. — Abbott's Signs of Promise, 344. — Twells's Colloquies on Preaching, 345. — Ward's The Church in Modern Society, 347.	
Hake and Wesslau's Free Trade in Capital, 349. — Atkinson's Industrial Progress of the Nation, 351. — Lowell's Essays on Government, 353.	
Pastor's Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 354. — Zimmern's The Hansa Towns, 354.	
Delitzsch's Iris, 355. — Knight's Wordsworthiana, 356. — Shairp's Portraits of Friends, 357. — Butler's Emergency Notes, 358.	
9. GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE. <i>Rev. Mattoon M. Curtis, M. A.</i>	359
10. BOOKS RECEIVED	363

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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. XIII.—MARCH, 1890.—No. LXXV.

CREEDS AS TESTS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

THE creeds of our Congregational churches: shall they continue to be used as tests in the admission of members? This question ought not to be obscured by any other. Shall creeds be dispensed with altogether, or shall they be enlarged and strengthened for testimony and fellowship? Shall no subscription be required, or shall ministers and missionaries assent to prescribed articles at their ordination and appointment? You may take conservative or radical grounds on these issues, but do not throw them as firebrands into the present discussion. They have nothing to do with the question before us: Shall the practice continue of requiring private members of our churches to give assent to the Articles of Faith, and to subscribe to them in writing at the first convenient moment after receiving the sacraments?¹ And shall all those who refuse this assent be excluded from the church for this reason only, although they are believed to be regenerate persons? If they are excluded because evidences of vital piety are wanting, no other test is needed. If they do believe all the articles, the creed does not apply as a test. The test comes only in the case where a person of undoubted piety refuses, on conscientious grounds, assent to some article which is not essential to his salvation. Should such a person be excluded? This is the only question before us.

There is one good reason for this practice: it has the right of way. It has been in vogue ever since we can remember. It is undoubtedly the present Congregational way. You are out of

¹ Dexter's *Congregationalism*, 1865, p. 185.

order in proposing any other until you make good your reasons for discarding this way.

One reason alone is sufficient: the use of creeds as tests in the admission of members is unwarranted and positively forbidden by the Scriptures.

"We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only divine authority, and our only binding rule of faith and practice." Some such statement as this is certainly one article in the creed of every orthodox Congregational church. The creed itself forbids its use as a test for the admission of members, if such a test is not warranted by Scripture.

The Scriptural test of true conversion is heart-belief of true doctrine. There is ample authority to admonish, and if need be to exclude from fellowship, not only brethren who walk disorderly, but also heretics who do not adhere to the true doctrine. But the plain reason for such withdrawal is that they are not true Christians. To see how absurd is the application of such texts to this question, we have only to state them thus: "Withdraw yourself from a brother whom you believe to be a sincere Christian, because he is not orderly in his doctrinal opinions." "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject, although you believe he has a regenerate heart." "If there come any to you and bring not the precise articles of faith which you have printed in your creed, receive him not, neither bid him Godspeed, though you believe that he is a true disciple of Christ." The Scriptures have no form of admission, but they certainly do not warrant this form of rejection. "All who received the word of the apostles, and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and were baptized, were then added together."¹

Where shall we look for any requirement of assent to a formal creed, as a condition of church-membership? "If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."² This verse is not found in the Sinai, nor in the Alexandrian, nor in the Vatican MSS., and it has been rejected from the Revised Version. And it would prove nothing if it were genuine. Our church covenants, which we all desire to retain, include such a confession of personal faith in Christ. No candid reader of the Scriptures will deny that repentance of sin and faith in Christ, the only conditions of salvation, were also the only conditions of admission to the sacraments of the apostolic churches.

¹ Acts ii. 41, 47.

² Acts viii. 37.

The creed-test is unwarranted and also positively forbidden by the Scriptures. The qualifications for church membership have been laid down by divine authority. If we add another, which is admitted to be out of the power of some true Christians to furnish, then we are making it impossible for them to obey Christ. We are laying stumbling-blocks in the way of his little ones. We are forbidding those to come unto Him to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs.¹

But it has been often said that these spiritual qualifications sufficed at that time, when only one question was raised, whether Jesus be the Messiah; while in these days the purity and harmony of the church require that some should be excluded who are true Christians, because they hold opinions which would destroy the integrity of the church.

This very case has been anticipated and decided by Paul in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of Romans. The question at issue there was a great deal more serious than any controversy in our evangelical churches. It was really the burning question, still dividing Protestants from Roman Catholics, of the necessity and efficacy of ceremonial ordinances.

And Paul does not dodge the question. He gives his decision more briefly than in his letter to the Corinthians, but not less positively: the ritualists are wrong; the ceremonies are not binding; the non-conformists must not be excluded from the church. But this is not all; the ritualists must also be cordially received and cherished in the church. This difference of doctrinal belief is no ground of separation. It is a good ground for remaining together in the same church. The conservatives will be safeguards for the liberals. The liberals will strengthen the weak faith of the ritualists. The exact point of Paul's decision is that Christians of opposite opinions and tendencies ought to remain in the same church, in hearty and vigorous coöperation.

"Receive ye one another, as Christ also received you." How did Christ receive you? Did He wait until you could understand and indorse thirty-nine articles, more or less? He received you by the short and simple way of repentance and faith, and we must receive you in the same way, "for the glory of God." It may be the glory of a club to pick and choose those who agree in opinion. But it was the glory of God that these Roman Christians, some of them scrupulously observing the ceremonial law,

¹ See Dale's *Manual of Congregational Principles*, London, 1884, pp. 41-50, 165-177, 183-187.

and the rest discarding it completely, could hold together in mutual charity; the strong tenderly regarding the scruples of the weak, bearing with their infirmities, and never laying a stumbling-block in their way; the weak confiding in the strong, and never suspecting their fidelity nor retrenching their liberty. And if we would not tarnish the glory of redeeming love, we also must receive one another in the same church, with full toleration for all differences of opinion which do not affect genuineness of Christian character. To exclude from any church in our denomination one whom you would not exclude from the communion table is to turn the church of the blessed God into a Congregational club. "Him that is weak in faith, receive." Do not send him to churches that will make him weaker still. Do not keep him outside till he gets strong. "Receive him, but not for decisions of his doubts." Let his doubts remain, if they be conscientious; or let them melt away under your fervent sympathy, wholesome instructions, and vigorous exercise in doing good.

Another reason for giving up this test of church membership is that it is not evangelical. It is against the theory and the practice of all the evangelical churches since the Reformation. It is a step backward towards the Roman Catholic doctrine of the church against which all the Reformers from Wiclif to John Knox protested. It is a return to the very principle of conformity which exiled our New England fathers.

What is the church? It must be the same anywhere that it is everywhere on earth and in heaven: "they that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called of God, true saints."¹ "Alle that shullen be savyd in blisse of hevene ben membris of holy chirche, and ne moo."² "The communion not of prophane personnes, bot of sainets, quha have the fruitionn of the maist inestimable benefites of ane God, ane Lord Jesus, ane faith and ane baptisme; out of quilk kirk, there is neither lyfe nor eternall felicitie."³ "The church is the congregation of saints in which the gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered;⁴ the whole body of men throughout the world, who believe in Christ, professing the faith of the gospel and obedience unto God by Christ according to it, not destroying their own profession by any error everting the foundation or unholiness of conversation."⁵

¹ 1 Cor. i. 2.

² Wiclif, *Select English Works*, ed. Arnold, iii. 447.

³ John Knox's Scotch Confession of 1560, Art. I.

⁴ Augsburg Confession of 1530, VII.

⁵ Savoy Declaration of 1658, XXVI. 2, 3.

This is the evangelical definition of the church, invisible and visible; invisible to those who have not faith to discern spiritual things, but visible to those who can recognize one another in Christ Jesus. And it was the aim of the Reformers to make the outward organization of the saints in every place to correspond as nearly as possible to the spiritual verity. If we are true to the Protestant ideal when we covenant together in a church state, we shall have this in view, and nothing else in view, that the truly regenerate only, and all truly regenerate persons who desire to join us, shall be admitted. To demand in addition to this qualification obedience to a hierarchy is the essence of popery; to demand conformity to a rubric is the essence of ritualism; to demand subscription to a creed is the essence of bigotry. To receive all whom Christ receives, and exactly as Christ receives them, is the essence of evangelical church polity.

And this was the original practice of all Evangelical churches, and is still the practice of nearly all except our American Congregational churches. The Episcopal churches have always made use of catechisms and the Apostles' Creed in their instructions for confirmation, but require subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from ministers only. Presbyterian churches make the Westminster Confession a test of ordination for ministers and elders, but the preamble to the Constitution and the Directory expressly provide for the admission to "sealing ordinances" of all who have a competent knowledge to discern the Lord's body, and are godly in life. It is true that many new school Presbyterian churches followed our bad example, and demanded public assent to short articles of faith. But this is admitted to be against their principles, and is rapidly disappearing.

If we adhere rigidly to the creed-test of membership, we stand alone among evangelical churches, and we stand in antagonism to our own principles. We protest against close communion for a mere form of baptism, and then enforce close communion for doctrinal opinions. We invite to the sacrament, even on the most restricted terms ever employed, "members in good and regular standing in other Evangelical churches;" and yet, if we are consistent, we will not admit some of them to good and regular standing in our own.

But it is alleged that the polity of Congregational churches imposes an absolute necessity that all the members should subscribe to the creed. In other churches, the power to govern is lodged with bishops or elders, who receive, discipline, and dismiss

members, are responsible for the purity and piety of the church, and maintain its position and doctrines. It is sufficient that the persons with whom all governing power is lodged should subscribe to the doctrinal standards of the church. But in Congregational churches, since all power of receiving and disciplining members, of choosing and ordaining ministers, of defining and maintaining the doctrinal standards of the church, and of every action on which its purity and peace depend, is exercised directly or indirectly by vote of all the members, it is absolutely necessary that every member on his entrance into the church should be required to subscribe to its creed.¹

If this be true, and if it be also true that the Scriptures forbid the imposition of this test, then there ought not to be any Congregational churches in the world! This demolishes at one stroke all arguments for our polity. If we cannot keep our vineyard without bristling hedges which will exclude the weak in faith whom Christ receives, we ought to give place to other husbandmen. But all the facts are against this theory. The Congregational polity, which we believe to be in substance the polity of the apostolic and primitive churches, was restored in opposition to the practice of the Church of England, which was also followed in some measure by the established Church of Scotland. They departed from the true evangelical principles, and "confirmed" or "received to sealing ordinances" baptized persons who were instructed in Christian doctrine and were not scandalous in life, without insisting upon evidences of the new birth as a condition. They expected gradual conversions within the church. The Congregational reform, both among Pilgrims and among Puritans, was a strenuous movement to make credible evidences of regeneration the final test of church-membership. It was nowhere more vigorous than in New England. In 1637 Mr. Stansby, and in 1642 Thomas Lechford, made it a reproach of the churches of Massachusetts that they were so strict in the admission of members that "half of their congregations, and three parts of the people of the country" were out of the churches.² John Cotton's reply, admitting the facts, makes it clear that they repudiated the English way of confirmation, and that only those were admitted who were believed to be subjects of experimental religion.³ It has never been denied that the Puritan way of

¹ Rev. E. B. Webb, D. D., *Congregationalist*, December 26, 1889.

² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 1. *Plain Dealing*, 150.

³ *Way of Cong. Churches*, 1648, p. 71.

maintaining the purity and the doctrinal soundness of the churches is to secure a soundly converted membership.

There is one denomination of Puritans which has never deviated a hair's breadth from this way. The Baptists have always insisted that regenerate persons only ought to receive the sacraments of the church. And they have depended absolutely upon this provision for the purity and doctrinal soundness of their churches. They are strictly Congregational in polity. But they have never imposed a creed-test of membership. It is true that they have adopted in general conventions various standards—a recension of the Westminster Confession,¹ and the New Hampshire Confession;² and some churches have confessions of their own. But they expressly repudiate the imposition of any formal creed upon a church or upon any member. "If several churches understand the Scriptures in the same way, and all unite in the same confession, then this expresses the belief of those who profess it. But we cannot acknowledge the authority of any tribunal to impose such interpretations upon them. We have no right to delegate such an authority to any man, or to any body of men. It is our essential belief that the Scriptures were given to every individual man that he might understand them for himself, and the word that was given him will judge him in the great day. It is hence evident that we can have no standards which claim to be of any authority over us."³

And have they failed to maintain sound doctrine? "I suppose there is not a denomination,—I speak in no fulsome praise, but literally,—I think there is not a denomination of Evangelical Christians that is throughout as sound theologically as the Baptist denomination. I believe it. After carefully considering it, I believe I speak the truth. Sound as my own denomination is, sound as some others are, and I do not cast unfriendly reflections upon any particular denomination, I do say, in my humble judgment there is not an Evangelical denomination in America to-day that is as true to the simple, plain gospel of God, as it is recorded in the Word, as the Baptist denomination."⁴

English Congregationalists also expressly repudiate the use of formal creeds as tests in the admission of members. They remain true to principles which were originally common to them and to us. "Confessions of the faith that is in us, when justly

¹ Philadelphia, 1742.

² In 1833.

³ Dr. F. Wayland, *Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches*, pp. 13, 14.

⁴ Dr. J. L. Withrow.

called for, are indispensable, . . . as a fit medium to express our common faith and salvation, and in no way to be made use of as an imposition upon any. Whatever is of force or constraint in matters of this nature, causeth them to degenerate from the name and nature of Confessions, and turns them from being Confessions of Faith, into Exactions and Impositions of Faith.”¹ “Our rules of admission are such as would take in any member of Christ. We take measure of no man’s holiness by his opinions, whether concurring with us, or adverse to us.”² “We cannot refuse to be members, nor censure when members, for any errors which are not fundamental and maintained against knowledge.”³ “We will never deny the communion to any person whose duty it is to desire it.”⁴

These principles have been often reaffirmed in modern times. “Protesting against subscription to any human formularies as a term of communion, Congregationalists are yet willing to declare, for general information, what is commonly believed among them, reserving to every one the most perfect liberty of conscience.”⁵ “It is not asserted that English Congregationalists have never made acceptance of an unwritten creed one of the conditions of church membership. But in England the Congregational tradition has been sufficiently strong, even where Congregational principles have not been clearly understood, to prevent Congregational churches from drawing up a formal creed and enforcing its acceptance as a condition of communion. It is not consistent with Congregational principles for a particular church to draw up a creed and to require its acceptance by candidates for membership.”⁶

And the original churches of New England expressly repudiated the use of formal creeds as tests in the admission of members.⁷ They made vital piety only the condition of church membership.

¹ Savoy Declaration, Preface.

² Narrative of the Independents in the Westminster Assembly.

³ Thomas Goodwin.

⁴ John Owen.

⁵ Declaration of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1833, Preliminary Notes.

⁶ Dale’s *Congregational Manual*, pp. 186, 187. Some Congregational churches in England adopt a creed, or approve the common symbol of the Union, in order to secure their property. A clause in the Trust Deed provides that the building shall never be alienated from a church holding these doctrines.

⁷ This is shown at length in Cumming’s *Congregational Dictionary*, p. 125 ; in the *Congregational Quarterly*, iv. p. 179 ; in Mead’s *Address to the Council of 1880* ; in the *Christian Spectator*, 1831 ; in Dr. Bacon’s *Way-Marks*, 1853.

It is true this must be taken in their sense, which made sound doctrine an important evidence of vital piety. They doubted the true conversion of those who were infected with corrupt opinions; and their examinations may have been a severer theological test than the creeds we impose. But the difference in principle is radical. We admit that our test excludes some whom we believe to be truly converted. They never intended to exclude any whom they believed to be subjects of experimental religion; and as a rule they did not impose upon candidates formal creeds as tests of their religious experience. "For the circumstantial manner of joining the church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, together with the liberty and ability of any person. Hence some were admitted by expressing their consent to a written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confessions in writing, which was read for them; and some that were able, did make their own confession, in their own words and way."¹ "Hereby" (that is, "by hearing candidates speak concerning the gift and grace of justifying faith in their souls, and the manner of God with them in working it in their hearts, and what they do believe concerning the doctrine of faith"), "we would prevent the creeping in of any into the church which may be infected with corrupt opinions. As for a platform of doctrine, to be imposed upon all to the very letter, without the least shade of difference among them, we doubt whether it be lawful or expedient."²

A little later, they had no doubt that it was both unlawful and inexpedient:—

"The things which are requisite to be found in all church members are: repentance from sin, and faith in Jesus Christ; and therefore these are the things whereof men are to be examined at their admission into the church, and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort, as may satisfy rational charity that the things are there indeed. . . . The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church, because weak Christians, if sincere, have the substance of that faith, repentance, and holiness, which is required in church members; and such have most need of the ordinances for their confirmation and growth in grace. . . . Such charity and tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not

¹ Morton's *New Eng. Mem.*, p. 146.

² Felt's *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, i. 381, 348.

be excluded nor discouraged. Severity of examination is to be avoided. . . . In case any through excessive fear, or other infirmity, be unable to make their personal relation of their spiritual estate in public, it is sufficient that the elders having received private satisfaction, make relation thereof before the church, they testifying their assent thereunto; this being the way that tendeth most to edification. But where persons are of greater abilities, there it is most expedient that they make their relations and confessions personally with their own mouth. . . . We must be able and ready, upon any occasion, to declare and show our repentance for sin, faith unfeigned, and effectual calling, because these are the reasons of a well-grounded hope. . . . This profession of faith and repentance, as it must be made by such at their admission that were never in church society before; so nothing hindereth but the same may also be performed by such as have formerly been members of some other church, and the church to which they now join themselves may lawfully require the same. . . . The like trial is to be required from such . . . as were baptized in their infancy or minority; . . . it is requisite that these should manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper."¹

In adopting the Westminster Confession along with this platform in 1648, and in reaffirming the same principles at Boston in 1680, at Saybrook in 1708, and on Burial Hill in 1865, Congregationalists have always proclaimed that: "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to his word, or not contained in it; so that to believe such doctrines or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also."²

The Confession was adopted as a testimony "That in the doctrinal part of religion they have agreed entirely with the Reformed Churches of Europe," as Cotton Mather always maintained.³ It was modified, of course, to substitute Congregational for Presbyterian government, and some doubts were expressed about "vocation" in chapter x. But no objection was made to the articles which Presbyterians are now seeking to discard, implying that infants and others who are incapable of receiving the ministry of

¹ Cambridge Platform, XII.

² Chap. xxi.

³ *Magnalia*, v. 3.

the word are lost unless they are "elect persons;" and that a definite number of men and angels, so fixed that it can neither be increased or diminished, are foreordained to everlasting death.

But they never required nor expected their candidates for admission to the churches to subscribe to this Confession. They may have been influenced by their high Calvinism in their search for evidences of vital piety. They were doubtless inconsistent at times with their own principle, that "severity of examination is to be avoided." They asked hard questions. Are there not aged persons lingering among us who were asked in childhood, on the threshold of the church, if they were willing to be damned for the glory of God? They doubted the vital piety of Quakers. They "made trial of many who passed for sound, and that not without good cause, but found them too light when weighed in God's balance, and threw them out lest they should be discovered too late to their eternal ruin."¹ That they rejected many true Christians by an extravagant estimate of orthodox doctrines as an essential evidence of experimental religion is more than probable. But we are bound to take their own words for it, that this was the only qualification they demanded for church membership. And, on the whole, the practice of the churches was consistent with the Cambridge Platform.

As a general rule, the churches made their covenant "the only instrument of their union in a church state." Plymouth Church "covenanted to walk together in a church state in all God's ways made known, or to be made known to them." They reserved an "entire and perpetual liberty of searching the inspired records, and of forming their principles and practices from those discoveries which they should make therein, without imposing them upon others."² The first church of Boston had a covenant but no creed. The first church of Hartford adopted no creed until 1822. The Old South Church of Boston never adopted a creed by vote. Dr. Blair (1766-69) used to read short articles to candidates for admission. "But the rule making this requirement was annulled immediately after Dr. Blair's dismissal. The Boston Confession of 1680 was printed as that of the Old South by a committee of the church in 1841, and subsequently. When the Rev. Alexander Cumming was installed in 1761, he was asked by the church to assent to this Confession, and the precedent then made was followed at every succeeding installation to and includ-

¹ Welde's *Answer*, 1644, p. 22.

² Original Covenant, 1602, pp. 8, 9.

ing that of Dr. Manning in 1857. But there is nothing in the records of the church to show that the Boston Confession of 1680 was ever adopted by vote of the church; nor that candidates for membership were ever required to give assent to it."¹

It must not be inferred that such churches had no doctrinal basis. The "Shorter Catechism" was taught in all of them, and was well understood as their invariable creed. Many of their covenants referred to the Boston Confession, or to the "great and leading doctrines of the gospel usually embraced in the well-known standards in the substance of it."²

Other churches agreed upon some specific articles at their organization for testimony and fellowship. When the First Church in New Haven was constituted, John Davenport and six others made public profession of their faith, and the rest freely joined themselves to this nucleus. The custom prevailed in many places of forming a church in this way, by designating seven brethren as "pillars" to give a reason for their hope. "But there is no evidence that such a profession was drawn up to be imposed upon all candidates, or to be used at all as a test of soundness of faith."³ In 1665 John Higginson printed a brief Confession of Faith, and declared it to be the same for substance propounded to and agreed upon by the church of Salem in their first beginning in 1629. But "this was acknowledged only as a direction pointing to the faith and covenant contained in the Holy Scriptures; and therefore no man was confined to the form of words, but only to the substance and scope of the matter contained therein."⁴

These local confessions, in many instances, were covenants rather than creeds, although symbolical in form. One of the most beautiful of them was found by Hon. J. H. Trumbull in 1862, and is believed by him to be the oldest confession of Connecticut now in existence. It is the Covenant of the Church of Christ in

¹ Hamilton A. Hill. See his *History of the Old South*, just issued.

² E. g., New Ipswich, 1660; Brattle Street, Boston, 1699; Old South, Worcester, 1746; Franklin Mass., under Dr. Emmons, 1738; Winthrop, Me., 1776. The First Church in Cambridge adopted soon after 1680 the whole Boston Confession, and have never revoked it; never used it as a test in the admission of members; and we may probably add, no living person among them has ever read it! But the First Church in Norwich, which probably adopted the Saybrook platform about 1708, revoked it by a formal vote in 1717, evidently because a new minister could not sign it. For a very mild substitute was adopted in its place at his installation. *Manual of 1860.*

³ Dr. Bacon's *Waymarks*, 1853.

⁴ Morton's *New England Memorial*, p. 146.

Windsor, 1647. It begins: "We believe," but has no resemblance to a modern creed. It sets forth in six articles the mutual covenant of God with his people, and adds the Church Covenant in the seventh article.¹

Some churches had a rule that "male members," or "adult, regular and approved members," are "expected" to give their assent to the Church Articles as well as to the Covenant. If these were articles of discipline, rather than dogmas of faith,² the rule refers to the government of the church, not to admission to its sacraments. It would be entirely consistent with the following rules: "As we take the gospel revelation to be the rule of our discipline, so we mean to admit to our communion and fellowship all who give Scriptural evidence of a work of sanctifying grace in a judgment of charity, and whose lives correspond thereto."³ "No member of this church shall be subject to discipline, but for immoral conduct, or for an open and explicit renunciation of the great and fundamental doctrines of revealed religion."⁴

But if such a rule requires subscription to doctrinal articles, it is inconsistent with the principles and at variance with the practice of the original churches. For, though exceptions during later years may be found in obscure records, the invariable custom of the fathers is thus stated by the most competent witness among them: "The churches of New England make only vital piety the terms of communion; and they all with delight see godly Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Antipedobaptists, and Lutherans, *all members of the same churches*, and all sitting together without offense at the same holy table."⁵ "To the relation of [the candidate's] own religious experience is added either a confession of faith of his own composing, or a briefer intimation of what publicly received confession he chooses to adhere to."⁶ "It is the design of these churches to make the terms of

¹ Printed in full in the *Congregational Quarterly*, iv. 168. The church in Dedham, at its organization in 1637, "renounced all ye devices doctrines and commandments of men not agreeing with His holy word," but adopted a creed for Testimony in 1736; Northampton in 1668; Marblehead in 1684; Yale College in 1759; Princeton, Mass., in 1764, with two articles only, Trinity and Inspiration; Berlin, Conn., at its organization, 1775, "the male members signing it and becoming a church."

² As in the Manuals of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, 1786; of Foxborough, Mass., 1779.

³ Manual of North Church, Bath, Me., 1795.

⁴ Manual of Fair Haven Church, 1796.

⁵ Cotton Mather, *Rat. Dis. Intr.*, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

communion run as parallel as may be with the terms of salvation. A charitable consideration of nothing but true piety, in admitting to evangelical privileges, is a glory which the churches of New England would lay claim to."¹

This testimony is confirmed by another competent witness more than a hundred years later. In 1808 the church in Fitchburg, Mass., adopted a form of admission with public assent to its Articles of Faith.² The controversy which this form occasioned and Dr. Worcester's defense of it are the best proof we could desire that it was an innovation, and that it was not intended to reverse the general practice of making vital piety the only final test of membership. "It was intended, indeed, that this new form should be used in the future admission of members. Still it was not considered as an absolutely indispensable term of admission that the candidate should consent to every article in the doctrine of faith. If any person offering himself as a candidate for the communion of the church should have his doubts respecting any article of faith, he would not be immediately admitted; but if there were nothing beside in the way of his immediate admission, he would be requested to stand for a season on probation. In the mean time, it would be considered as the duty of the brethren, and of the pastor especially, to remove his doubts, and to enlighten him more fully into the doctrine of Christ. But if, after standing for a suitable time on this probationary footing, it should appear that the difficulties in his mind, though not fully obviated, do not result from enmity to the truth, but from some other cause, and that he is really a subject of the true Christian temper, the article in question would be dispensed with in his favor, and he would be admitted according to his desire. For it was never designed to exclude any from our communion, who appear to be made really subjects of experimental religion."³

¹ Cotton Mather, *Rat. Dis. Intr.*, p. 99.

² Adopted also in Bangor, Me., 1811, 1833, 1847; in Holden, 1828; and given as a model in Pond's *Manual*.

³ *Life of Samuel Worcester, D. D.*, i. 279. Dr. George E. Ellis, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, cited by the *Congregationalist*, January 30, 1890, as "the most learned living student of New England History," says, in a letter, February 3, 1890: "The distinction was emphasized between a *Confession* and a *Creed* as requisite for admission to a church. The fair conclusion seemed to be that acceptance of a confession without assent to formulated articles of a Creed was accepted on such admission as the usage of all the New England Congregational churches. But this by no means justifies the conclusion that belief of the accepted creed was not avowed or implied. Before a candidate could properly come under the question of admission, he

But this very thing which was never intended was speedily set in motion. Park Street Church was organized in 1809 with a rigid creed to which all were required to subscribe.¹ The Unitarian controversy was beginning, and between 1810 and 1820 the manuals of the churches bristle with keen tests of orthodoxy in the admission of members. One of them has a tremendous creed, and a series of rules that "no person shall be admitted to membership until he gives public assent to it;" that "it is equally the duty of the church to discipline members for error and heresy as well as for vice and immorality;" and that "pastors must not only subscribe to the creed, but pledge themselves to defend it against Jews, Pagans, Mohammedans, Arminians, Polagians, Antinomians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Universalists"! ² This is the worst, and the most logical and consistent manual, which I have found, between 1808 and 1820. Nearly all our churches adopted some form of subscription to a creed about this time.

The innovation was undoubtedly made in a panic. The Half-way Covenant had filled the churches with voting members who made no profession of piety. Meeting-houses were alienated and infidelity proclaimed. Then, after their vineyard was plundered and trampled, they put up the bars. And they put up the wrong bars! There are impenitent sinners who can adopt with perfect sincerity the most tremendous tests that can be devised of orthodoxy in opinion. What was wanted was a rigid enforcement of the old rule that "no person ought to make a profession of religion and join the church without experiencing a change of heart,

or she had been under previous examination and conference with pastor or deacon. This would start with the assumption that the candidate accepted the creed, and if any serious failure appeared, it would of course bar farther proceedings. Heretical views, exceeding a liberal allowance for individual haltings, would arrest the matter of admission at that stage. Orthodoxy of belief was assumed in private. The public ordeal related to heart experience and correctness of life. "I find abundant evidence that the development of so-called 'liberal beliefs' among Congregationalists brought in two novel devices as safeguards: first, the examination and scrutiny by members of a council for finding the doctrinal views of a candidate for the ministry (which was not originally the duty or prerogative of a council, but was adopted for security against heresy), and second, an assent to formulated articles of a creed as condition of admission to church membership in public." This is decisive on the only point at issue: that our present method of public admission to church membership is a novel device, occasioned by the development of liberal beliefs, which culminated in the Unitarian Controversy.

¹ Since modified. See Withrow's *Anniversary Sermon*, 1884.

² Manual of the Church of Christ in Frankestown, N. H., 1811.

and the church ought not to receive any person into their fellowship, whether he has been a professor or not, unless they are satisfied in a judgment of charity that he has been born again."¹ This "novel device of assent to formulated articles of a creed as the condition of church membership" was the greatest blunder American Congregationalists ever made. It is absurdly uncongregational, and against all our best traditions.

And it has never done any good, and has always done great harm. This is another practical reason for giving it up. We are often asked to contrast the working of the old system for nearly two hundred years with that of the new system during the last eighty years. Are not our churches purer and more orthodox now than they were at the outbreak of the Unitarian controversy? What else has saved us except the use of the creed, test to rule out heretics?

The answer is not far to seek. The great missionary movement of 1810 and the continuous revivals ever since have saved us. These have operated directly to restore the old test of church-membership to its original power. The continued presence of the Spirit of God and the zeal of the churches especially in behalf of the children have secured to us a church membership, which, beyond all cavil, is more largely composed of converted and consecrated persons than at any time since the days of the apostles. This is the whole cause of our spiritual prosperity, rather than this newly invented barrier to the communion table.

The barrier has done no good and incalculable evil. It was imposed when young children were not generally expected to join the church. Since then a large majority of our members have been converted in childhood and youth. In countless numbers, these innocents have been required to profess their solemn belief of words they cannot understand. The creed-test has made cruel separations of families. On some subordinate doctrine like infant baptism, fathers have been divided from mothers, and in the controversy or the confusion, children have been lost from both churches. It has consigned those who were weak in faith and needed most our fostering care to unevangelical teaching at the formative period of their experience. It has been a sore burden to the conscience of pastors and of their converts from the world. There is no need of expatiating upon these evils. They are profoundly and universally felt.

¹ Art. 16 of the Discipline of the Church in Berlin, Conn. Date not given, but the rule evidently refers to the Half-way Covenant.

This great millstone has hung too long around our necks, for causing the little ones who believe in Christ to stumble. But the practical question remains, how to get rid of it. The rules and rubrics of nearly all of our churches impose this test. How can we escape from it?

One way is to wear it out. Place your creed in the hands of all applicants, and if they make no objection, proceed in the usual way. If objection is made by those whom you believe to be truly converted and exemplary Christians, contrive some way to evade it: explain it away; connive at mental reservations; if this will not do, exempt them by open vote of the church from subscription. It will not be worth much as a test after a few such wrenches as this. Such a process has been going on for years in many of our churches. Few churches apply their creeds as rigid tests in the admission of members. And the attempt to discipline devout and exemplary members for opinions not in harmony with all the articles of the creed would lead to the swift and startling discovery that this obnoxious rule is a dead letter.

But there are grave objections to this wearing-out process. It wears out the creeds also. Conservatives, at least, ought to be alarmed at this danger. What has become of the Boston Confession, the Shorter Catechism, and the faithful abridgments of them which were universally adopted when this test was first imposed? Why has the cautious utterance of the Creed Commission of 1884 called forth so feeble a response? Why have some churches revoked all their creeds, and many others dwindled their articles to a few generalities? Not because extended and unequivocal confessions are the abomination of desolation, but because they are standing where they ought not. The creed-test of membership has broken the backbone of Congregational creeds. Unless they are moved away from the communion table completely, we shall soon have no symbols to distinguish us as one of the original Evangelical churches.

There is a more serious objection to dead letters. Their ghosts will rise to frighten the scrupulous conscience. There will always be a suspicion of evasion. Subterfuges are unworthy of a church which is set to be the light of the world. The imposition of this test was an unlawful imprisonment of disciples of Christ, and you have no right to "let those men go" secretly. Come forward manfully and "fetch them out."

Revise rules and rubrics. The creeds need not be changed. They may be easily changed for more extended and accurate tes-

timonies to the doctrines generally believed, and diligently taught, and received without controversy. But first, repeal all rules and forms which require or expect assent to any articles at all as conditions of church membership. Proclaim without reserve that you mean to receive all comers whom you believe Christ has received. Will any man dispute the right of Congregational churches to take this straightforward action? The right to revoke creeds and to impose others has been exercised without question. There was a church of over three hundred members in 1860 which adopted, by a vote of twenty-four in favor and of nineteen opposed, a more stringent confession of faith, and retained the rule that all members were expected to sign it. By unanimous vote in 1888, the same church, then increased to over five hundred members, repealed this rule and required assent to the covenant only. The Congregational way is not a way of indirection, diplomacy, and compromise. Let there be light. Preach the truth. Expound the Scriptures. Bring out the startling fact that creeds, rituals, and venerable customs stood in Paul's day exactly where they stand now, as a barrier to church membership; and that he swept them away with a heavy hand. Describe to your churches the Scriptural, Evangelical, and Congregational way of the fathers, and see how eagerly they will hold up hands for it. It is incredible that any church, fully instructed, will perpetuate this blockade.

"And then how long will it be before all creeds will be repealed and the churches be left without defenses of their orthodoxy? And how can we say: We believe; unless every member is obliged to subscribe to the creed?" This is a strange question for Americans to ask. How can we have a written Constitution of the United States and say "we the people" do enact it? An alien becomes a citizen of the United States by renouncing fealty to foreign princes, potentates, and governments, and by promising obedience to our laws. But who would think of demanding of him an abstract belief that republicanism is the only legitimate form of government? It is an unchallenged fact that we Congregationalists believe and teach a definite system of doctrine. The majority in nearly all our churches have hitherto claimed the right to define that system in a creed, and to require all members to assent to it publicly. The majority in all our churches have a perfect right to define that system in a creed, and to require all members to receive the teaching of it without controversy, and to be loyal to the church. I recently asked a member

of a Congregational church, who does not believe the doctrine of infant baptism, what he would do if the proposal were made to expunge that article from the creed. I put the same question to another, who does not believe the doctrine of endless punishment. They instantly gave the same answer. They would oppose such a motion strenuously. These doctrines belong to the system which their church sustains. They are not required to subscribe to them, but they are bound by the covenant to study the things that make for peace and to bear truthful testimony. A Christian is at least a gentleman, and does not join a church to antagonize its well-known doctrines.

What a preposterous panic this is about filling our churches with heretics, and turning them into synagogues of Satan! Can it be that Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, and Methodists, and all the rest of the Evangelical churches defend their orthodoxy in a Scriptural way, while Congregationalists must be held back from Unitarianism and Universalism by putting every member into a strait-jacket!

"How shall our Congregational churches bear the fullest and most accurate testimony for the truth and against error, without imposing unwarranted terms of communion upon the disciples of Christ? He who solves this problem will do great service to the cause of truth."¹ There is only one way. Remove all barriers of creed from the sacraments. Restore the covenant of personal surrender, consecration, and obedience to its place as the only instrument of our church state, and as the beautiful gate to the communion table. Sharpen the tests of Christian character. Keep out those who have hard and impenitent hearts. Turn out the wicked and scandalous. Make the church a communion of saints, and then, trust soundly-converted, holy men to take care of its orthodoxy, and the Lord Jesus Christ to defend it against the gates of Hell.

Wolcott Calkins.

NEWTON, MASS.

¹ Rev. Edw. W. Gilman, in the article already cited, *Congregational Quarterly*, 1861, iv. 192. He had previously solved the problem himself, perhaps unconsciously, by his clear description of the old way.

THE PROBLEM OF PAUPERISM.

"How is it possible to relieve want and destitution without serious moral harm to the recipients, injury to the community, and, in the end, increasing the amount of suffering?" This question Mr. Francis Peek places at the beginning of a paper read at one of the Charity Organization Conferences in London in 1879. It is the question which puzzles all who seek to ameliorate the condition of those suffering from poverty. An attempt to discuss in a single paper the whole problem suggested by this question would be sure evidence of never having studied it. This paper will consider certain phases which the writer has not often known to be treated by those who have made it a specialty. We will begin our study with a few limitations.

There are those temporarily in financial distress, always a large class: we will not consider such.

There are the poor who are able to earn a decent living, but who have few luxuries and only a moiety of comforts. They are, however, not on the public. Their condition needs improvement, but judging from recent events in this country and Europe, by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Knights of Labor, this class is abundantly able to work out its own salvation, and is doing so surely and swiftly.

Then there are the insane, and the children of virtuous parents who are left without help. These are not forgotten, but they, with the two classes previously mentioned, cannot at present be considered.

Pauperism denotes a condition. It has been defined as "the state of voluntary want," which is true as far as it goes, but it is an imperfect and unjust definition. All in voluntary want are paupers, but not all paupers are such voluntarily. Some choose pauperism; others are born into a state from which they would gladly rise, but cannot, from lack of faculty rather than choice. A weight is upon them, — the weight of sins of past generations; it crushes like a mountain.

Then there are those who, from earliest childhood, have had an environment of vice and wretchedness. They are physically, morally, intellectually diseased; they are children of the outcast; they never had parents; they were simply born and left. How large this number is may easily be imagined after an examination of the conditions of life in large cities. People in this class do

not dream that there is anything higher for them. Their environment so hardens to filth and pollution that they cease both to desire and to aspire. These two classes — those who are hereditarily paupers and those who are made so by their environment — are the hardest to reach, the most misunderstood and neglected, and it is concerning them that this paper will treat.

What are the causes of pauperism? This question will be answered within the limitations already suggested.

1. Heredity. Paupers are largely children of paupers. This is most evident in the older countries. Heredity is a demonstrated law. Diseases run in families, criminal propensities the same; eccentricities follow family lines; talent, as has been shown by Mr. Galton, is hereditary; and it is equally true that the physical and moral characteristics which tend toward pauperism are part of a natural inheritance. Mr. Dugdale's studies in this field are now well known. With most minute care, he has, by examinations running through six generations, found pauperism hereditary, and as a scientific conclusion he makes the statement that heredity of the tendency to pauperism is quite as indisputable as that to crime or disease. If the Bourbon family are distinguished by the Bourbon nose, and following the same law the Bach family by their talent for music, we should expect to find the descendants of Margaret Jukes both criminals and paupers.

Assuming the proposition that heredity not only governs the reproduction of physical features and peculiarities of temperament, but of mental and moral characteristics as well, and also that they will, sooner or later, manifest themselves unless modified or overcome by some stronger force, it is clear that, without fullest evidence to the contrary, we must presume the tendency to pauperism to be subject to the same law. Statistics show that the children of paupers usually become paupers, although they do not by any means show that all pauperism, or even the largest proportion, can be accounted for by this law.

2. Environment. Among the causes of pauperism included in vicious environment are the following: —

(a.) The tendency of population to congregate in cities. The mountains and valleys and even the prairies have streams running to the cities. Most of those who go to the towns are not skilled laborers; they are without trades, and are impelled thither by desire for excitement. Their services are not wanted. Their capital, if they have any, is soon spent. If they have not spirit enough to return home, they are soon on the street, becoming beggars.

Could they be induced to go back to the country, there would be hope for them: their only hope, indeed, for this world.

(b.) Overcrowding. Partially consequent on the rush to the cities, partially the result of greed of landlords, partially the fact that laborers must be near the place of work, is this next great cause of pauperism. What tongue or pen can describe the terrible reality we are now facing? Read the testimonies of Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. H. C. Meyer, an American engineer, before the Royal Commission in London in 1884, on the Housing of the Working Classes, published in the Blue Book of the following year. They show that the virtuous and industrious poor are not at first paupers. They must be near their work, and are therefore compelled to take such accommodations as are available. Few can afford more than one room. A part of Lord Shaftesbury's testimony is as follows; most of it is too terrible to repeat. "The effect of the one room system is physically and morally beyond all description. In the first place, the one room system always leads, so far as I have seen, to the one bed system. If you go into these single rooms, you may sometimes find two beds, but you generally find one bed occupied by the whole family. . . . It is impossible to say how fatal the result of that is. In the first place, it is totally destructive of all benefit from education. It is a benefit to the children to be absent during the day at school, but when they return to their houses, in one hour they unlearn almost everything they have acquired during the day. . . . The one room system may go on very well while there are a husband and wife and young children, but when the children have reached the age of eight or ten, and have to sleep in the same room as their parents, or with others, from that hour the consequences are most fearful both to their morals and to their health. In the one room system, where the inmates are many, you cannot introduce a sufficient amount of air. How remedy all this? You must either insist upon a man taking two rooms, or else you must separate the children from the adults. Either case seems to be an impossible supposition."

Let us now consider conditions not yet fully obsolete in our country. In 1879 the Tenement House Act was passed. Testifying before the same London Commission, Mr. H. C. Meyer, of New York, said: "Prior to that act, about ninety per cent. of the city lot could be covered. The authorities could not well reach old dwellings that were built for other purposes and that were subsequently converted into tenement houses; such buildings always had

a large proportion of dark inside rooms. The division of land in our city is very unfortunate. The blocks being four hundred feet long by two hundred feet deep; the streets are sixty feet wide, and ninety per cent. of each one-hundred-foot lot could be covered. The buildings were usually put up five stories high, and the landlord usually tried to provide for four families on a floor. You can imagine in our climate, from May till the last of September, the condition of the occupants of a large proportion of the inside rooms, with for two months the temperature averaging over eighty degrees."

Whatever their antecedents, people become both physically and morally depraved when compelled by the struggle for bread to live in such conditions. Lord Shaftesbury said they had found that workmen lost, on an average, about twenty days each year from causes directly related to overcrowded and unsanitary dwellings. He was asked if he had seen the pamphlet called: "Is it the Sty that makes the Pig, or the Pig, the Sty?" His answer was: "I am certain that a great many people who are in that condition have been made so by the condition of the houses in which they live." He then gives the genesis of a pauper family. "A young artisan in the prime of life, an intelligent, active young man, capable of making his forty or fifty shillings a week, comes up to London; he must have lodgings near his work; he is obliged to take, he and his wife, the first house that he can find. . . . In a very short time, of course, his health is broken down; he himself succumbs, and either dies or becomes perfectly useless. The wife falls into despair; in vain she tries to keep her house clean; her children increase upon her, and at last they become reckless, and with recklessness comes drinking, immorality, and all the consequences of utter despair."¹

Overcrowding means vitiated air, proximity to vice, consequent temptation, and usually indulgence in evil. Such conditions necessitate a weakened state both morally and physically. When ambition is dead, the body weak, and the gate that looks toward hope closed and barred, there is reached a state which makes pauperism inevitable. And it is well to stop here long enough to say that the victims of such conditions are not responsible for them. Their pauperism is not voluntary want. If pauperism results from the strike among the dock laborers in London, it should be laid chiefly at the door of the owners of the docks, who tried to compensate for their own extravagance by grinding

¹ "Housing of the Working Classes," *Blue Book*, p. 5.

the faces of their employees. Society is responsible for these conditions, and society alone can remove the evils. It must make such conditions impossible. An undertaker, who was also a house-owner, was besought by Octavia Hill to improve his tenements, on the ground that they would be more profitable to him. He replied: "Oh, mum, it's not the rents I depends on for my profits, it's the funerals!" Such a brute exists and carries on his hellish work because you and I do not lift up our hands and drive him from the face of the earth. Somebody is responsible for pauperism and its attendant crimes, but it is the man who sits in a ceiled house and the woman who dresses in lace and diamonds quite as often as the tramp who begs bread, or the thief who steals your purse. I am no socialist, but I see no way out of this terrible condition unless the state makes overcrowding impossible, and compels those who build houses for rental to make them comfortable, healthful, and decent, even though they do not pay over five per cent. on investments.

(c.) Intemperance. It is unnecessary to speak of this cause of pauperism; there is none more prolific. Where the one is, the other is invariably found.

(d.) The *esprit du corps* of the class. This is another element of vicious and pauperizing environment, and is as evident in the ranks of pauperism and crime as it was in Napoleon's armies. It does not apply to the temporarily poor, to those who have not lost remembrance of better things, but is true of paupers as distinguished from the poor. They argue that society owes them a living, and they exult in getting it without work. The chief of this clan is the fellow who induces society to do the most for him with the least trouble to himself. This vicious example carries its vicious inspiration. Children born in such an environment are subject to the influence of degrading ideals, and stimulated by examples still more degrading. Hence it comes that the *esprit du corps* of pauperism is one of its most fruitful causes.

(e.) Disregard of the marriage relation makes a multitude of paupers. When children are born to those for whom wedlock has no sanctity, the responsibilities of parents are usually lightly appreciated. In this way thousands of street waifs come into being. The father does not know of their existence, the mother is hampered by other duties, and the child is set adrift to become usually both pauper and criminal. How large this class is, the Maisenhause in Vienna and the Foundling Hospital in London give a faint hint.

(*f.*) Indiscriminate giving. When to all these forces is added the indiscriminate giving of the charitable, it ceases to be a wonder that there are so many paupers, and only seems strange that there are not more. Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, of the Charity Organization Society of New York, charges the Christian churches with being directly responsible for a large part of the pauperism of our great cities. Indiscriminate giving leads paupers to reckon on the doles of the benevolent as a fixed quantity. "The committee appointed in Bristol, England, a few years ago, to inquire into the condition of the poor reports: 'No remedy can be found for the pauperism and mendicancy of Bristol till a higher tone exists in regard to the sin of inconsiderate dispensation to the poor.' 'Careless almsgiving,' says Mr. William Low, 'produces directly such vices as imposture, improvidence, drunkenness, servility, religious pretense.'"¹ Twenty years ago one in every eighteen in London was a pauper. Charity organization followed upon knowledge of this fact, and as a result pauperism at the end of seventeen years had been reduced from forty-two to twenty-two in every thousand. Sooner or later every pastor finds that his church is supporting those who use piety as a cloak for laziness. The rector of a large parish in New York discovered that at one time his church contributed largely to the support of two maiden ladies supposed to be poor but worthy, who on investigation were found to be owners of the large tenement in which they lived. There are organized gangs of paupers in all great cities: some work the churches, others the Sunday-schools, still others go from house to house; they are adroit, persistent, innocent enough in manner to deceive the elect, and they continue their line of business because it pays. It would not pay, were it not for misplaced charity. There is truth in the French epigram, "Charity creates one half of the misery she relieves, but cannot relieve one half of the misery she creates."

This extended study of the factors of the Problem of Pauperism has been necessary before intelligent suggestions could be offered concerning its solution. In all that is attempted there should be constant reference to the removal of the causes. Occasional gifts to the poor have no more effect than does rubbing an irritation when the seat of the difficulty is within. The parallel may be continued. The more an inflammation is soothed by rubbing, the worse it becomes, and the more one alleviates pauperism by indiscriminate giving, the more is it aggravated.

¹ Rev. W. F. Slocum, Jr.

Pauperism, speaking in general terms, has two causes: corrupt heredity and vicious environment. The questions for us to consider are therefore two: (a.) How may an industrious and virtuous stock be substituted for that which breeds paupers? (b.) How may the conditions of living be so improved that the pauper class shall no longer be recruited from the ranks of the frugal and industrious? Speaking again in general terms, our reply is that there is one and the same answer for both questions. The only way in which a hard-working and frugal stock can be secured is by a change in the existing environment; and the only way which promises hope that the pauper class will no more be augmented from other classes is to secure such conditions as shall make men unwilling, even for selfish reasons, to sink to lower levels.

Let us now observe a few principles which are well established by scientific investigation.

1. "When the organization is structurally modified, as in idiocy or insanity, or organically weak as in many diseases, the heredity is the preponderating factor in determining the career; but it is, even then, capable of marked modification for better or worse by the character of the environment. In other words, capacity, physical and mental, is limited and determined mainly by heredity."¹

2. "Where the conduct depends on the knowledge of moral obligation [excluding insanity and idiocy], the environment has more influence than the heredity. . . . The use to which capacity shall be put is largely governed by the impersonal training or agency of environment."²

3. The correction for vicious heredity is change of environment, as the proper thing for a person by the seaboard with hereditary tendency to consumption is to go to Colorado or California.

4. "Environment tends to produce habits which may become hereditary, especially so in pauperism and licentiousness."³

"If these conclusions are correct, then the whole question of the control of crime and pauperism becomes possible, within wide limits, if the necessary training can be made to reach over two or three generations. From the above considerations the logical induction seems to be that environment is the ultimate controlling factor in determining careers, placing heredity as an organized result of invariable environment."⁴

¹ Dugdale, *The Jukes*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*

These principles are fundamental. Heredity may be changed by environment. The lungs of the ancient Peruvians became expanded because of the rarefied air they were accustomed to breathe. The dweller in the tropics delights in heat which would utterly enervate a dweller in northern lands, and yet their race ancestry was the same. Change in environment has caused change in organism. The principle holds in moral and spiritual as well as physical spheres.

We have, then, our answer to the question, What can be done to lessen the pauperism of the world? Those who accept the words of our Master, "They that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak," as forming a universal principle, must devote themselves to the creation of new and more healthy conditions in which those below them can live and improve.

To this end, what can be done by society through the state?

The state can make it impossible for individuals or corporations to monopolize the land. This evil does not to any large extent exist in the United States, but it does in Europe, and already there are signs that it will cause trouble here. The state can so protect citizens in their right to the land that no injustice shall be done. None who are willing to devote themselves to agriculture should be prevented either by lack of land to till or tools with which to work.

The state should allow only the erection of dwellings fit to be human abodes. It may be a question whether the state should assume the functions of a landlord; but I can see no more reason why the state should carry our mail than build our houses. However, without advocating extension of an already overburdened civil service, it will be granted that building laws can be passed and enforced compelling landlords to erect only such dwellings as shall make homes possible, and which shall be inspected and kept in proper order. Overcrowding should be made as criminal as stealing. Laws forbid overcrowding on the sea: why not on the land? This evil requires the most tireless vigilance, but it can be eradicated. If any doubt, let them read the account of the changed condition of Whitechapel since the English Building Acts were enforced.¹

The state can pass uniform marriage and divorce laws, so that the number of children left to grow up in neglect shall be diminished.

The state can, if it will, utterly abolish and destroy the saloon, by one act removing a most prolific source of pauperism.

¹ *New Review*, October, 1889.

The state can attach to our postal service a system of Penny Savings Banks, so that there shall be before all people, even little children, a constant incentive to industry and frugality. The people will trust the nation when they would not trust individuals. And it should be as universal as the postal system, so that not only cities but towns and country districts may have the opportunity of investing the smallest sums. When formed in childhood, the habit of saving is seldom lost, and can be fostered in no way so well as by Postal Penny Savings Banks.

We thus see that it is within the power of the state to make monopoly in land impossible; to compel the erection of dwellings which shall put a premium on decent living and good behavior, dwellings to be rented at prices which the poor can pay; to pass uniform marriage laws; to abolish the saloon; and to establish Postal Penny Savings Banks, in all these ways creating a better environment for the people. And it can do one thing more, — it can make pauperism criminal. Certain localities do this now, but there would be no serious encroachment on the rights of the individual if there were to be a national law to this effect.

What can churches do toward creation of conditions which shall tend to the removal of pauperism?

They can, as churches, utterly refuse aid to any but those who on full investigation are proved to be deserving. This would cut off the support of thousands of church-tramps who find it easy to impose on the kind-hearted minister and deacons, and whose sole ground of confidence is that their statements will never be investigated. So far as practicable, the churches should work through charity organization societies, to which all cases requiring help should be referred for investigation. But churches are jealous, and object to intrusion. A Church Exchange has been suggested, by which, on stated occasions, the officers having charge of benevolences in all churches, Roman and Protestant, should meet and compare notes, and thus learn whether they have not in common members who in one ward believe in Apostolic succession, in Close Communion in another, in High Calvinism in a third; and all because the one who can swallow the greatest number of creeds receives the greatest number of doles for his insatiable pockets. A church exchange would be perfectly feasible in villages and small cities, but perhaps the charity organization plan is better for large cities.

But, more than all else, churches can do much by rising to an appreciation of the fact that the gospel is for the whole life of man. Jesus Christ came to save men in this world as well as for

the future. Whatever ennobles and beautifies human conditions, whatever makes possible a worthy life for man as a child of God here and now, belongs to the mission of the church; and in order for it to have its best effect, this large and generous conception of Christianity should be preached in churches whose doors and pews are free to all, — so free that a pauper may feel at liberty to be there even though he sleeps, and thus be found in the atmosphere of higher and better things. There are churches and churches. Some content themselves with sustaining the worship of the sanctuary for the elect who are able to pay for pews; others, though they keep the pew system, organize like the Congregational Union of London, to move in solid phalanx on the ranks of vice and degradation. That Union of London might well be studied by the churches. It works systematically. It provides preaching, bright and cheerful entertainments, work for those who are willing to work; it puts boots on children and sends them to school; it provides five o'clock breakfasts on Sunday morning, where men are fed before being asked to listen; it searches for the deserving who are willing to emigrate and sends them to the colonies; it allows no heedless giving, but strives in all ways to open the door of hope before those who live in darkness and despair. The Secretary of this Union issued "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," that exceeding bitter cry which has echoed around the world. It was significant, showing that the church was far in advance of the state in its appreciation of the social condition of England.

Thus churches can do much toward creating an environment which shall discourage pauperism. They can refuse to countenance almsgiving except on fullest investigation; they can give up their prejudices and sectarian rivalries and organize a church exchange by which only the deserving will be helped; they can work through the Charity Organization societies; and, better than all, they can realize that Christ came to save man, body and soul; they can preach a gospel to the whole groaning creation, and esteem it a privilege to do anything which will uplift and ennoble men, thus helping them toward, if not into, the kingdom of God.

What can individuals do to create an environment which shall gradually exterminate pauperism?

They can learn that giving to beggars is giving to multiply beggars. They can remember that even paupers are children of God for whom Christ died, and therefore worthy of best and most careful efforts for improvement. The current philosophy says,

"The fittest will survive: let the rest die;" but the religion of Christ says, "All are children of God," and the very fact that a human being is sick, weak, poor, an outcast and a vagabond, is the strongest possible appeal for efforts toward amelioration of his condition. But to be more definite. A gentleman of wealth started the Polytechnic on Regent Street in London. It educates to industry and high ideals about fifteen hundred young people each year. Paupers are seldom, if ever, found among those who have studied there.

A number of Oxford and Cambridge students, under the lead of Arnold Toynbee, originated the University Settlement in East London. There the young men from the universities go, not to be missionaries, but to improve the life of Whitechapel. Toynbee Hall, in one of the worst districts of London, shows what certain individuals are doing to solve the problem of pauperism. They go among the people, live among them, try to elevate their local affairs, and to inspire the people in those districts to vote for good measures, are on the poor-boards and school-boards, assist the police in suppression of vice, and thus are themselves trained for larger and better work in the future.

If I were a city pastor with money behind me, I would try to duplicate Toynbee Hall in New York or Brooklyn, or where, perhaps, it is still more needed, in Jersey City.

The hero and heroine of Walter Besant's "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" are generally believed to be the Rev. S. A. Barnett, Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and his beautiful and accomplished wife. They are reported to have inspired the novelist. He described in the course of his book an ideal Palace of Delight, which five years ago had no existence except in fiction. To-day it is a veritable reality. In 1887 it was opened by the queen, — a vast institution with industrial classes; art classes; a cooking school; a hall seating two or three thousand, where the best music in the kingdom is to be heard as frequently as at the West End; an art gallery, in which during the summer of 1889 there was the finest collection of modern paintings to be found in Great Britain. And this music, this art, these libraries and reading-rooms, these places for amusement and improvement, are to be enjoyed by any dweller in the heart of East London for the sum of twopence. Crowds go there. Life is made nobler and sweeter. Young men and maidens drawn from music-halls and saloons see something worth talking and thinking about. Boys and girls with some natural gifts are sought out and trained to arts and industries. In

addition to these, travel classes are formed, and men, women, and children are taken to the country for excursions in which recreation and instruction are combined. And, still better, the poor and friendless are brought near pure and noble spirits, who show them that the highest have no privilege so great as working to uplift those beneath them.

But perhaps the most helpful of all agencies started by individuals in this crusade against pauperism was the experiment of Octavia Hill. It is no longer an experiment, but an assured and magnificent success. She planned to take old buildings in the heart of London's poorest districts, make them cleanly and well-equipped dwellings, and as soon as possible erect new buildings. She presented her plan to John Ruskin, who furnished most if not all of the money for the venture. Miss Hill transformed old rookeries, made them comfortable and healthful, in one of them took up her residence, kept the stairs and halls as clean as her own rooms, filled the vacant places with flowers, became the friend and helper of the women and children, set an example of careful housekeeping which was a constant inspiration, and then insisted that her rents should always be paid. She demonstrated that, however it may be among animals, among human beings the "sty" has much to do with "making the pig." In other words, she has proven that people who have decent homes and a chance to see beautiful things are usually influenced by their surroundings, whatever their heredity may have been. Her example has already been followed to some extent in Europe and America, and it will be by following and extending it in future that most will be done toward solving our problem.

These are only hints. More familiar and equally valuable illustrations might have been found in New York, in the Children's Aid Society, and the reformed and renewed Gotham Court. They all illustrate the principle to which attention is directed in this paper. Our only hope that the problem of pauperism will ever be solved is in the fact that new and higher conditions always do much toward changing and improving character, however degraded it may have become.

And now, at the close of this discussion, we should remember that no permanent work for humanity can ever be accomplished without heeding the following fundamental facts: —

All men, just as they, — thieves, murderers, paupers, — are children of God, and therefore worth saving; are destined for an endless existence, and therefore worthy of most heroic and sacrificing effort.

Individual responsibility is an ultimate reality. We begin life where others put us, but after that we choose for ourselves. Heredity furnishes each man his capital, but compels none in its use. If the lowest are ever elevated, it will be by awakening their consciousness of responsibility and consequent ability.

Finally, efforts for the amelioration of humanity require time. The baleful effects of evil heredity, which are like streams running through many generations, are not easily overcome. In character, as in disease, more than one generation is needed to eradicate evil tendencies. But as the physical constitution is changed for the better if kept long enough in pure air and bright sunshine, so the lowest and most degraded humanity becomes ennobled and beautified if taken out of its surroundings of vice, idleness, and crime, and kept in the pure air of loving associations and beneath the bright and tender sky of the Eternal Father's love.

Amory H. Bradford.

MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY.

A MODERN PREACHER, AGOSTINO DA MONTEFELTRO.

THERE is a rumor of a new character over on the other side of the Atlantic. The report has come to us of a modern Savonarola, a man who is an Italian preacher, and who unites in himself several of the strong characteristics of the great mediæval Italian. Savonarolas are rarely seen in human history, and when one comes to the light, especially in this nineteenth century, he is worthy of receiving some attention. This man is a Franciscan, known by the name of Agostino da Montefeltro. He is reported to have unusual intellectual endowments, to have strong convictions as to the things which should be in distinction from the things which are, and to possess that rarest of human gifts, or what comes near being the rarest of human gifts, eloquence. It is putting the fact too mildly to allude to the knowledge of him here as a rumor. Still it is only recently that he has come into his present great conspicuousness in Italy. Bologna, Pisa, Florence, and Turin had been given opportunities of hearing him before this year which is just past, but it was seemingly not until March, 1889, that the opportunity came to him to apply his gathered experience in addressing large audiences at the centre

of the Italian world, that is to say, in Rome. The Roman sermons served more than anything which had happened before to widen and secure his Italian reputation, and to set men to looking at him and talking of him in the larger world outside.

If we were to accept unqualifiedly all that is said of him, we should have to believe that this man is not only something unusual, but something very extraordinary. Much, it seems, is set down to his credit as a humane man, as a "good" man in the sense of goodness in which it is disconnected from religious belief. But what he is principally famed for is his power of eloquent speaking. At Rome he had what would be called great "success." He preached in the church of San Carlo al Corso, a church, as its name indicates, on the Corso, and near the Via Condotti. It was a *course* of sermons which he gave, extending through Lent. All ranks of society seem to have been represented in his audiences. San Carlo is sometimes called a fashionable church, in allusion to the class of people who regularly frequent it, — an objectionable term, but one which may be accepted as giving a clue to one element represented in the Franciscan's audiences. One of the Roman journals said that he drew many young people, — young people who belonged to the ranks of the studious and the thoughtful. In the descriptions of his preaching, all the details are found which familiarly belong to the description of a powerful speaker addressing an enthusiastic audience. One of these I copy.

"The vast temple was not large enough to contain the multitude panting for a draught at this inexhaustible fountain of eloquence; and — a new miracle — of the listeners who hung upon his lips a good part were those who do not frequent the church, who do not feed upon spiritual food, and who are wont to accord to the religious idea a smile of indifference, if not of contempt. The long and uncomfortable waiting, the murmur of voices more or less audible which ran through the dense, crowded, and overflowing mass, all ceased at the appearance of the mystic figure of the humble servant of God. An irresistible and superior force seemed to weave a spell over the ears and the hearts of the listeners. They followed the exuberant speaker in every gesture. They were unwilling to lose a syllable of his utterance. They hung in emotion upon his lips."

This same description and others which appeared at the time disclose the somewhat surprising fact that the audience from time to time gave vent to their feelings in applause. But it is stated that the Franciscan begged them not to do so. I do not suppose

that applause is a thing expected of an Italian church audience. I think I am right in saying that such a thing is as much a violation of tradition, to say nothing more, with them as with us. It probably is not to be necessarily taken as indicating that the listener places himself over against the speaker in the attitude of one who is admiring a show or a spectacle. Applause does not always indicate that. Wendell Phillips's audiences used to applaud his anti-slavery speeches because they were so stirred by his words as to feel unable to resist the tendency to in some way indicate their feelings, to give some sign, to make some response to the speaker, although they were addressed upon a topic of hardly less dignity and seriousness than a pulpit topic. It must be said, too, that the Italian speaker does not by his way of talking disclose any secret wish to provoke applause or in any way belie the sincerity of his open appeal. His words were earnest and must often have been stirring, but all of what he says appears to come naturally in the development of his theme, and bears no marks of being inserted simply for effect.

It is possible to know what his words were, and to subject them to criticism in this and other respects, because the Roman sermons which he preached last March were taken down stenographically and printed. They were sown broadcast all over Italy, so that the observation was made at the time, that he was preaching not so much to the congregations which gathered within the four walls of San Carlo, as to the whole of the peninsula, from the Alps to the Tarentine Gulf. It has been to me a matter of interest to turn over the pages of these sermons and see how far they justify to the mind of the reader the extraordinary impression which they made upon his audiences, and what sort of a man they reveal. It would seem that there must have been intellectual force in them, that audiences such as his were could not have been attracted and retained by recitals entirely sterile of ideas, no matter how impassioned or earnest the delivery; and upon examination they do in fact show that he is not a mere rhapsodist or a person dealing solely in sentiment, but a person of vigorous and apparently of trained mind.

What has this man got to offer, and what does he offer? What are the themes which stir him? Against what does he feel called upon to make a crusade? In the general tone of most of what he says, he is much like a Protestant. He has the elevated tone of one who talks to educated persons in an intellectual way. In the majority of his sermons he takes the same stand-

point, talks the same as a Protestant preacher (saving peculiarities which are Italian, not Catholic), and places himself in much the same relation to his hearers. Out of about thirty sermons preached last March and April, I should say not more than half a dozen are purely Catholic. The rest cover a variety of subjects. Without undertaking to point out what is bad or repugnant to our feelings, let me undertake to mention some of the things that are good in him. What he wants to do principally seems to be to make his hearers religious, in distinction from irreligious people. The theme which most deeply moves him seems to be modern unbelief, and the greatest danger to the world, in his apprehension of danger, the danger from this source. He sees also matters of individual conduct, matters of family life, matters of social arrangement, matters in the existing order of the state, which impress him as evil. But they are all secondary, they follow in the wake of irreligion. Irreligion in the shape of nineteenth century unbelief is the enemy to be first attacked. The axe is then laid at the root of every evil. This has seemed to me to be the dominant note of his preaching. The particular themes are many. Among them are entire sermons where he allows himself to proceed as if he were talking to a world which accepted his fundamentals. But the impression which the reader gets, and which it seems to me the hearer must have received, is that the preacher's conception of his mission is not to unfold the beauties of their faith to the faithful, but to attack with so much power as in him lies the enemy which is assailing that faith in the form of atheism, materialism, agnosticism. That the situation is to his mind critical seems to be shown by his own assertions. He declares that a great evil is torturing the society of the present day. "This evil which is the source of so many others, this disturbed state of affairs which will end by turning our ideas, our affections, our morals, our character, into chaos is the falsification of truth, and of one truth above all others, that of the existence of God. Materialists and positivists indulge in debates as to what they shall substitute for God, — for God, the necessary existence in which we live and move, the author of creation, the ideal of perfection, of wisdom, and of virtue! Misguided as they are, they do not reflect that everything has its foundation in God, love of the true, the beautiful and the good, respect for the sacredness of the family, the virtue and the happiness of men; they do not suspect that without God man goes astray, that the mind becomes bewildered and loses itself in wretched systems." He puts the

question, "What has become in our day of the doctrine of the existence of God?" and says it is enough to look about one to obtain a response, that the existence of God is denied. He deprecates the attitude of science, poetry, history, toward the fundamental religious concept. "Literature ignores the subject. Poets treat it with insult, history is being reformed so as to banish the name of God from its pages." And continuing in the same vein he declares: "Modern atheism has got to the point of shamelessness. It shows itself in the light of the sun, penetrates everywhere, makes its presence known upon the rostrum, on the stage, in the press, even in the schoolroom, yes, in the sacredness of the home." The following is one of several passages of similar tone. We translate from the Italian edition.

"Persons so perverted as to dare to say that God did not exist were rarely met in the past. To-day their number is exceedingly large (*stragrande*). There are even men who dare to call God lacking in goodness, in justice, in providence. Belonging to no faith, they assert that religion is a false notion scarcely tolerable in the days of ignorance of our primitive fathers, and in our age made solely for those weak natures which are not able to see and appreciate the progress of reason. How can this evil be bridled which is so fatally bringing ruin upon our age? What remedy is there against this scourge which afflicts the family, the nation and society?"

A man with convictions as serious as his appear to be, about the extent of unbelief, even if mistaken, could not fail to be pushed by them to make great efforts to convincingly sustain his own position, his own side of the question. All of his sermons are not sermons directly on Christian evidences, but those in which he allows himself to speak as if there was no enemy to combat, no unbelief just outside the door, are in the minority. Among his topics are the following: the existence of God as a physical and moral necessity; the existence of the soul or the necessity of the concept of a soul; the necessity of religion to humanity; Christ as foretold by prophecy; the divinity of Christ. Treating more directly the subject of unbelief and the alleged science-religion conflict, he preached a sermon on the sources of unbelief, on the supernatural, on objections to religion, and two sermons on science and faith, where the subject in its general aspect is discussed at length. Any one of these sermons, saving occasional expressions, might have been preached in any Evangelical pulpit. Occasional expressions are found which suggest the

surroundings, but they are very few in number. In fact, I should say that not only they might have been preached, but they have been preached, in Protestant pulpits. Take for example the sermon on the existence of God. It is built for its principal points upon the universality of the belief in a deity, upon the necessity of a first cause, upon the order and design in the universe, upon man's idea and love of the infinite, and upon the existence of conscience. The sermon on the immortality of the soul considers the spiritual element in man and its necessary imperishability, the soul's longing for a state of happiness and impossibility of its being delusive, the inextinguishableness of the hope in face of death, the universality of belief in immortality indicating innateness, the impossibility that a God of wisdom, goodness, holiness, and justice would destroy the soul, and the necessity of a future state to furnish sanctions to conduct. In the sermon in which he speaks of the divinity of Christ the points are his perfect life, his sublimity in death, the simplicity of his moral teachings, their completeness, adequacy, and endurance in point of time, and Christ's own affirmation that He was divine. This will illustrate his general manner of subdividing his subjects. An occasional passage will illustrate more in detail his mode of speaking.

"There has not been a century which has lacked the inspiration of God, not one without a belief in manifestations of power infinite and divine in their nature. In our day these manifestations lie hidden by the veil which the age casts over them, hidden by idols with captivating names. But people unconsciously reverence these idols. They give them reverence in their discourse of nature, of science, of equality, of progress, of liberty, of fraternity.

"And this is the language of our age! The thoughts are lofty ones, transporting the mind, the passions noble ones which touch the heart. But this same language is also the language of religion, and every one of these potencies which stir and thrill society should be laid upon the altar of God, their source, and upon that altar should be inscribed those words which were read in the Areopagus at Athens: TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. Such, indeed, is the language of our age. O my brothers of this nineteenth century, let me point out God to you! Let me exclaim with St. Paul: 'What therefore ye worship in ignorance, that set I forth unto you!'"

"What would become of the world without a belief in the immortality of the soul? . . . It is said that the last hero of Poland

falling upon the field of battle exclaimed: *Finis Poloniae*. Ah my friends, that very cry may go up to-day, you may exclaim "*Finis Patrie*" when among a people those who believe in the immortality of the soul, in the justice of a God who punishes and rewards, yield to materialism. When those insane doctrines find an echo in the hearts of the people, when the multitude takes them up, then, indeed, we may well cry "*Finis Italiae*." for we shall have anarchy within and invasion on our borders. But in this duel between the true science and the false I look to the triumph of soul. And to you with your generous impulses, young men, does it belong before all others to secure the liberty and safety of your country by resisting the invading doctrine of materialism. It belongs to you to secure for her this liberty and glory, with the seriousness of thought, the force of will, with words and actions, which shall be worthy of your own immortal destiny."

"If there is any element in the perfectness of Christ which may seem to you less evident than another, constantly study it and you will find it ever more beautiful, more luminous. Conceive whatsoever you will that is most majestic, most lovable, most sublime, most compassionate, most just, most glorious, most humble, and most perfect, and tell me if it is not the character of Jesus. He alone justifies admiration to the point of worship, He exhausts the whole language of praise. Human nature has in Him all its right emotions, the divine nature, all its inseparable perfections. . . . And what shall be said of the truth of his words, of his doctrine? For nineteen centuries they have been subjected to every analysis, to the most bitter scrutiny. No utterances were ever analyzed, dissected, sifted, like those of Jesus. But no one has been able to accuse them of error or of contradiction. . . . They resolve the most difficult questions. . . . They will to all eternity furnish the ultimate word upon every discussion, present or future, in the field of religion and of morals."

"*Oportet Christum regnare.*" 'For he must reign.' These words of St. Paul sum up everything which preceded the coming of Christ. Yes, we must join in saying, it is in the necessity of things that Christ should reign. It is the great necessity, the thing of all others which *must* be, the necessity of heaven and earth. . . . Look at the world, examine history. You will see colossal empires go to ruin, systems vanish, . . . but the kingdom of Jesus Christ shall endure forever. Many a king of the

earth, of universal renown, after making his little stir by word or deed has passed into eclipse, leaving but a memory behind, but the kingdom of Jesus Christ shall endure to eternity. . . . The ages pass before Jesus and before the cross, bow in reverence, and raise the grand acclaim, 'Christ conquers, Christ is commander, Christ reigns.' For nineteen centuries has resounded this prophetic hymn. I do not know whether to this century shall succeed another, but I do know that nothing shall disturb this splendid harmony. The promises of God are without fail, and He has promised that 'of his government there shall be no end.' And when in the dust of the stars shall rest the sun, wearied of its course, when there shall be no longer dawn nor sunset, then shall still shine in splendor the cross rising from its earthly standard to say to mortals, 'Learn to suffer, learn to hope,' and in the heavens shall be raised the song, 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ is triumphant.'"

In the way in which he explained his attitude toward science there was more which was individual than in the evidential sermons; still, in the main, the points are those with which we are familiar. His principal topics, variously illustrated, are the rationality of faith, and the necessity of faith. He dislikes the idea of an antagonism between faith and science. He says he loves science, that it is for him the teaching of God, the explanation of his work, the divine light which shines through the clouds, containing something of the beauty of God himself; and that just as he admires the artist's conception when it stands beautified upon the canvas and breathes in the marble, so in science and through science he admires the conceptions, the plans, the works of God. He loves science also, he declares, for the good, in material respects, which it brings to the world. "The love which faith and charity inspire in us for the welfare of humanity, for the progress of civilization, makes us love science in all its extensions, in all its applications." He states it as his fervent wish that the form of an antagonism between science and faith may disappear. "I invoke with all the force of which my soul is capable this era of peace. With all my heart I invoke peace between these two potencies so well made for understanding each other. Their union has created the work of Christian civilization."

If Agostino da Montefeltro devotes much or the greater part of his attention to combating unbelief, it does not seem to be because he is indifferent to what are called practical evils, — de-

rangements of the social order, failure of the individual and social life to reach and move upon the highest plane to which it is capable of attaining, — but because he feels that, in combating irreligion, he is directly combating the cause of such derangements. He seems by no means insensible to evil in the society and the state, and in fact allows himself at certain moments to take the same mournful view of the trend of human affairs, morally considered, as he does of the trend of spiritual life. "There is no deceiving ourselves," he in one place says, "we are in the midst of a crisis which will make an epoch in history." And he enlarges on particular aspects of the existing state of affairs which impress him, saying that sacrifice and self-denial have become forgotten words; that selfishness is the controlling force; that marriage obligations are violated, children are allowed to grow up in insubordination, and the family is being undermined; that property is being attacked; that speculation and fraud are the order of the day; that every one is moved by the determination to be master of himself and mind nobody; that the poison of anarchy and rebellion is being infiltrated into the mind of the citizen; that the state is tortured by factions, her best energies paralyzed. And so forth.

The remedy which he insists is necessary, which is in fact indispensable to cure this aggravated condition of evil, is more religious life and religious thought, more loving of our enemies, more of the spirit of mutual concession and of sacrifice. Without religion, it is his feeling that what is bad must inevitably grow worse; while with it society cannot fail to move steadily along the path which is to lead it to an ideal condition. And he considers it impossible to separate the question of morals, the question of what is necessary for the highest development of individual, family, and national life, from the question of religion.

"'You priests and monks,' people say, 'do not understand your mission, or you would let dogmas go, and preach practical morality. But I tell you that you cannot preach practical morality, if you sever it from religion. In a letter which was addressed to me a few days ago, and which, contrary to my custom, I opened, I was advised instead of what I have been preaching up to this time, to preach patience, resignation, truth, the spirit of sacrifice. But is it possible to have such things without religion and without principles? You cannot have patience, charity, the spirit of sacrifice, if you do not believe in God, if you do not believe in a future life. . . . Two moralities are offered us, the morality of Christianity and the morality of philosophy. Can Christian morality

stand without religion? No, because among its precepts there is this one: Love your enemies. Does this precept find a basis in natural law? No, because natural law teaches the maxim of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Christian morality therefore, is not founded in natural law, but is founded upon the doctrine of pardon, of grace, and of love of God.' "

In what is said upon the family,—a sermon is devoted to it,—there is comparatively little which an American preacher would have felt called upon to say to an American audience. What he says upon religion and the state goes upon broader grounds than what he says of the family, and is of more general interest. The subject is one which a small man or a timid man would hardly have ventured upon in Rome. We are inclined to think at this distance and with the possible error which belongs to the opinion of outsiders, that the Italian citizen is not to be blamed for sometimes imagining that there is an inconsistency between the fullest patriotism and the fullest adhesion to the church, for thinking that he cannot yield to one the highest loyalty, make most fully his own all its ambitions and desires, without withdrawing in some respect that same loyalty from the other. What Agostino da Montefeltro said was patriotically said, and must have expelled from the minds of those who heard him any doubt about the speaker's belief in the compatibility of the highest patriotism and the highest faith.

Quite apart from any possible bearing upon political questions was the preacher's treatment of one division of his subject, when he undertook to combat the idea that the Christian faith in any way produced inferior or unmanly men. Perhaps, in addressing a chivalrous and a military people, he had need to attack this notion. His significant answer to it was to point to the Christian martyrs. What he asked his auditors to consider when they inclined to think that religion produced a weak-kneed type of humanity were the men who perished in the arena, died at the stake, submitted to every phase of torture, exhibited every phase of heroism, without flinching. Taking up his subject proper, he spoke strongly of the citizen's duty of obedience to the powers that be, his duty to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, impressive words when, as here uttered, they applied not alone to Cæsar in the generic sense, but to the king who sits, as nearly as any modern monarch does, in Cæsar's seat. The second duty of the citizen, in the order in which he set these duties out, was to love his country, a subdivision of his theme which led him

to equally emphatic words. After this he spoke of the obligation to render service, and finally of the duty to strive for present harmony, saying: "There is still another duty which I call a duty of the moment. It is the duty to exert ourselves to secure harmony in our country. We are far too much divided in our religious, political, and economic notions. A spirit of brotherly love must be aroused. What is the use of doing as we are doing? Why not join hands to make our country a unit, to make it grand and powerful? In the name of patriotism, let us work for this harmony." Still, it was not a political address. As in speaking of the moral life of the individual and the right order of the family, so in speaking of the right order of the state, he affirms and reiterates his belief that religion lies at the bottom and is essential.

"Love of country is inseparable from love of religion. The daughter of Moab said, 'Whither thou goest I will go; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God.' In these words is found the simple expression of the natural sentiment, which from the concept of country cannot separate the thought of God. . . . A nation without religion is like a body without a soul. What profound patriotism animates those men who unite in their breasts these two holy and sublime affections! See the Maccabees in the presence of the king of Syria. They say, 'It is better to perish with our arms in our hands, than to be witnesses of the desecration of the temple. For themselves, for their families, they would have been resigned to endure everything with the courage of martyrs, but once their altars come into question, and see how they rush enthusiastically to arms and how they joyously perish on the field of battle!'"

The Franciscan did not miss his opportunity of making a personal appeal, or of putting an illustration which would strike his hearers on a very sensitive side. That sad event in Africa, though not very recent, was still fresh to the Italian mind. In her ambitious colonization movements in Abyssinia, Italy had aroused the jealousy of the native ruler, and an encounter had taken place in January, 1887, near Dogali, between an Italian force and a largely superior native force, which resulted in the slaughter of almost all the men engaged on the Italian side. The preacher made a point of this occurrence, alluding to it in the following words:—

"And how can I stand silent and say nothing of those young men who, away from their native soil, have fallen there on the inhospitable sands of Africa? Poor heroes! yes, martyrs! Penned

in by a swarm of enemies, valiantly resisting, they passed along from hand to hand the national banner, never ceasing to struggle, until, overpowered, — not vanquished, — they fall in their ranks on that soil consecrated by their sublime heroism. I put the question to you, Were these soldiers atheists? Ask their mothers, ask their sisters, ask the towns and the villages who accorded them stately burials. They will every one of them tell you that they were Catholics, and that their bloody banner bore upon it these words: *Religione e Patria.*"

Among the noticeable general characteristics of Agostino da Montefeltro's manner are his earnestness, and his apparent willingness to grapple with intellectual questions on intellectual grounds. There is no doubt that he is accepted by his audiences as an intellectual force, that they view him as a man with a powerful and a trained mind. His manner is certainly forcible, and while there is no display of learning, there are things here and there which reveal some of the lines of his mental training. Occasionally, he brings a paragraph from the pages of scholastic philosophy to the front, permits himself to momentarily bewilder his hearers with talk about entities, about essential, communicated, and contingent existences, but of such talk there is little, hardly more than enough to give a suggestion of one branch of his reading. He himself says in one place, "*Le teorie astratte non provvedono ad alcuno dei bisogni del popolo,*" "Abstract theories do not meet any popular need." That his acquaintance with literature — not simply with the literature of his own church, but with literature in general — is wide, is indicated by plentiful quotations. Or if he has not read extensively, he has at least taken considerable pains to memorize a large variety of sayings of different authors. Human wisdom or unwisdom, religious or irreligious, very frequently furnishes him something to give point to one of his sentences or add a corroborative voice to his own arguments. There are not only to be found quotations from almost all the Latin and Greek classic authors, but from De Tocqueville, Lacordaire, Bossuet, Prudhomme, Fénelon, Guizot, Thiers, Littré, Blanc, Jules Simon, Victor Hugo, Renan, Strauss, Goethe, Kant, Bacon, Milton, Byron, and others. An acquaintance with the masterpieces of art is native to the Italian, and that he should have found occasional references to the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo useful in addressing his Roman audiences is not a matter for surprise.

How earnest and how serious must have been his manner appears clearly enough from the way in which his sermons read, and

it does not need the testimony of witnesses to make us see how large an element of his power must have lain in this. An indication of the seriousness and earnestness of his manner is found in the extemporaneous prayers which occur here and there in his sermons, not separated from the thread of them, but in most cases a continuation in another form of the same thought which he has been developing. Such a prayer appears in the sermon on Hope, another in the sermon on Incredulity; and still another at the close of the sermon on the Passion, in connection with the passage, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." He occasionally also prefaces his sermon proper with a short prayer, inserted after the introduction or statement of what his topic is to be. Some of these prayers are the following: —

"Jesus, divine master, the substance of truth and of love, breathe this love and this truth into my words. Give to them the sacred power of grace. Kindle in our hearts the warmth of this love, that the seeds of truth sown in us in baptism may germinate, unfold, and make us holy."

"*Dio mio*, give me words to-day which shall have power to transfer to others my own most living faith. Give me words full of that grace which subjugates the heart."

"O Hope, celestial daughter of God, the comfort of those in tribulation, the friend of the unfortunate, the sister of outcasts, the support of the weak, the consolation of the dying, the protectress of the tomb, forsake us not. Be ever the light of our hearts, the guide of our steps, the norm of our actions; that when we have passed with calm resignation through earthly trouble, we may merit a crown in that other life, set before us as our journey's end."

"*Tu Gesu*, . . . bless our country, — our country which we long to save, which we long to restore to thee. Save her from the divisions of factions. Make her respected. Grant that she may respond to her glorious traditions. Bless him whose duty it is by his high office to lead her in the way of truth and in the way of justice. Bless those who with him coöperate to govern our country. Illumine them, O Jesus, and make them realize that without faith and without religion our country cannot be prosperous or great."

"*Dio mio*, give to this land of ours so many devoted Catholics that their efforts may avail to bring back to thy bosom our brothers who are without religion. Abide with us and with them. Make thyself known to us as at Emmaus to thy disciples, whose darkened vision was illumined at the breaking of the bread of life, sublime symbol of thy love. To-day the clouds hang low upon the earth. Shine thou, O sun of justice, of truth, of love, and let none escape thy beneficent radiance."

"Saviour of men! Compass in us thy promise, draw us to thyself. If there is among my brothers here any one who is without love for thee, who is deaf to thy entreaties, who despising thy example nurses hatreds and rancors in his heart, who is held in the bond of his passions, work this thy miracle upon him. Convert him to thy love. May no one have heard in vain to-day the story of thy Passion. May no one steel his heart against thy affection. May there be no one who would not esteem himself happy to bear his cross after thee."

It would be a mistake to imagine that Agostino da Montefeltro is in any respect a Protestant, or that the doctrine which he preaches is in any respect anti-Catholic doctrine. To those sermons in which he declares and justifies the beliefs which all of the Christian faith have in common, he adds others in which he advances the beliefs which are peculiar to his own church. Such praise as is accorded to him by any one viewing him from the Protestant standpoint must be accorded with the consciousness that the reader of the sermons is liable to come upon doctrinal matter which will be repugnant to him. To be entirely fair, to give him all that is his due in speaking of him as a Catholic, it should be mentioned that he shows in all that he says a broad liberality which did not belong to the mediæval church, and which is not generally considered as characteristic of his church to-day. But so far as I know what Catholic doctrines are, I think he raises his voice in defense of them all. The right of the church to control scientific research is, among other things, touched upon, and one more argument is made in the famous case of Galileo which may be read with a certain curiosity by any one interested to know the latest form of the church's apology. His position, as he would have it understood, apparently is that any opposition to the scientific spirit *per se*, any desire or intent to generally bridle scientific investigation, is not to be predicated of the church,

and that doctrinal authority enters to utter its word only when science undertakes to lead its followers into an abyss. It is to his mind a practical instance of science falling into the "abyss" when it says to men, "Your derivation is in a direct line from the brute." In other connections, the preacher pronounces himself very emphatically for intellectual liberty, and what he says is so strongly said as to appear to be a part of his native belief. Words like the following seem to have the ring of genuine conviction about them : —

"But the true language of the age is that God in the rule of liberty and justice wishes liberty for all. It is God who illumines your intelligence, and He does not fear to have you consult nature with it. It is God who opens the road to wisdom, and He has no fear that you will by its aid lay bare his secrets of creation."

"*Signori*, the first law of the human soul, yes, the essence of the human soul, is liberty. The human soul is essentially free, and knows no other limitation than truth, and this does not restrain its liberty, it does not assail it, but it elevates it, secures it, since it is precisely to create truth that man is given liberty. How, then, could faith encroach upon this privilege of man which is liberty?"

What this preacher would say, if asked directly and unqualifiedly what he thought of people who undertook to lead the Christian life outside the pale of his church, does not appear, but apparently he does not consider the non-Catholic countries "lost." Photius, he says, succeeded in separating the East from the church, but not in canceling the image of Christ from the hearts of the people." "Luther succeeded in breaking the bond which bound the peoples of the West, but the spirit of Christ does not cease for all that to impart its vivifying power to the people of Germany." Of England, he says, that while Henry the Eighth made trouble for that country by schism and false doctrine, "nevertheless over that powerful nation reigns still the divine nature of Jesus." When he approaches directly the subject of tolerance, his words are such as to indicate that the spirit which promoted the inquisition is completely dead in his own heart at least. He considers tolerance in three different aspects.

"There are three sorts of tolerance, civil, personal, and dogmatic. It is needless to discuss civil tolerance. The church has spoken of that. 'Personal tolerance' signifies hostility to doctrinal error, but love for the person, or rather it signifies opposi-

tion to the unbelief out of love for the unbeliever, and that is the true science of our church and our religion. The church, like the civil state, would of right be entitled to put down its persecutors, but it loves affection more than strict right, it loves the existence of its children more than it does its own life, and we cannot reproach the church for the blood shed if sometimes this maxim had false interpretation. . . . The church said to her apostles, do not be executioners, but be yourselves victims. She produces her influence on the human mind through persuasion and not by brute force. And if there is blood to be shed in the conversion of the peoples, she will make holocaust of her own. It is the gentle Lamb which has triumphed over the world, not the Lion of Judah.

And now in what does "doctrinal tolerance" consist? Does it consist in placing upon the same altar Jupiter, Confucius, Mohammed, Christ? But that is a total denial of religion! It is not tolerance at all, it is hypocrisy, — any such pretended respect for all religions. . . . If we cannot shut ourselves up in indifference touching the social questions which agitate the heart of society, how can we remain non-caring in that which touches religion? . . . Repugnance to that sort of "doctrinal tolerance" shall lead you to embrace the truth, the truth in its entirety and totality, the truth which does not yield, which cannot stand side by side with error. . . . Your love of "personal tolerance" shall lead you to be charitable with that charity which binds you to your brothers, which reveals to your eyes in the perverted man not what he is, but the angel into which he may be transformed."

The likeness between Agostino da Montefeltro and Savonarola does not extend much further than that both are Italian monks with a conviction of a vocation and the gift of unusual eloquence. The Franciscan is in sentiment a modern, while Savonarola, even in the fifteenth century, presented a figure much more closely allied to that of an Old Testament prophet than to any of the religious types of his time. Savonarola's claim to the power of prophetic utterance — his belief that he was a voice from heaven declaring what should presently be upon this earth — is the most characteristic side of the man, because it separated him the most from the rest of his own world. Agostino da Montefeltro, so far as I discover, does not assume to read the vision of the future, except as all men do in the light of the present. Neither is he denunciatory in his manner. He does not deal in fulminations. Christianity, in its general aspect and in his particular phase of

it, is to be demonstrated in the light of reason as a rational thing, and apparently he would be glad to succeed in showing it also to be a beautiful thing. The mediæval Florentine preacher saw evil not only rampant everywhere in society, but rampant in the church itself. He felt it to be his duty to denounce the iniquity which degraded the priestly and the papal office, and did denounce it, obtaining as a natural result the hostility of the church toward himself. So far as appears from what he says, Agostino da Montefeltro does not feel it to be his mission to improve his church. Either it is his idea that the "army" is all right, or he gives no thought to it, and devotes his energies to attacking the enemy as being the more obvious duty and the one nearer at hand. Animated as he seems to be by this principle of action, there is little danger that he will be made the object of persecution from within the church.

But if safe from persecution within the church, he has not wholly escaped some trying experiences at the hands of his fellow-citizens. If not to persecution, he has at least been subjected to certain indignities by them, and has also been made to feel that his mission was in fact viewed as he sometimes said the preacher's mission was viewed in this nineteenth century, namely, as an attempt to move the world backward, as an attempt to bridle liberty of thought and scientific progress, as an attempt to re-create the condition of society which persecuted Giordano Bruno. On the 17th of March, 1889, in Rome, an ecclesiastic, taken for the Franciscan preacher, was assaulted by some one in the street who, it was thought, did it as a means of expressing his opinion of the man and his crusade. On the 19th of March a similar attack was made, which reached the man for whom it was intended. When the carriage which was taking the preacher and another person from the college of San Antonio to the church of San Carlo reached the foot of the Via Merulana, toward the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, an individual who stood there waiting for it to come up threw a large stone against the glass door panel, shattering the glass, and followed the stone with a bucket of some offensive compound which covered the clothing of the occupants and the upholstery of the carriage. The Franciscan also received a slight wound from the broken glass. An opposition, which is supposed to have been animated by the same motives, gathered during the preaching in the street before the church, and greeted the preacher when he appeared with cries of *Viva Giordano Bruno*. It was stated that on one day, the 29th

of March, the preacher delayed his departure from the church for some time for fear that his appearance might lead to a conflict with possibly serious results (*far nascere un parapiglio che sarebbe potuto divenire sanguinoso*). The boldest act of those who chose to antagonize him took place on Sunday, the 31st of March, when during the sermon in the crowded church a bomb was exploded behind the altar. No one was injured, and the mischief makers probably did not intend that any one should be, by the explosion of the bomb itself; but if a panic had ensued, the consequences might have been grave. Some complaints had been made before this of the indifference of the authorities to the assaults upon the preacher, and to the street disturbances. On this Sunday the situation was thought to call for the interposition of the strong hand. Troops were sent to the Piazza di San Carlo. They formed in a square about the entrance to the church, and under shelter of the bayonets the congregation dispersed without further trouble.

What shall be said of exhibitions of this kind? Certainly they are very much to be deprecated. That opposition to any man or any movement should ever take the form of personal assault is something which the prevailing sense of sober-minded men would pronounce to be pitiable anywhere. We rather congratulate ourselves that a preacher of this man's stamp would not be apt to meet such treatment on this side of the Atlantic, though millions would differ from him in opinion. That there is a liability to outbreaks of this sort in Rome, outbreaks of an opposition which is in its animus an opposition to religion, is something which would probably be learned by most Americans with surprise.

A. R. Willard.

BOSTON, MASS.

PROFESSOR ALLEN'S "JONATHAN EDWARDS,"
WITH EXTRACTS FROM COPIES OF UNPUBLISHED
MANUSCRIPTS.¹

PROFESSOR ALLEN'S "Jonathan Edwards" takes rank with the ablest books of its class; we do not recall any that is more stimulating and fascinating. It tells, indeed, nothing new concern-

¹ American Religious Leaders: *Jonathan Edwards*. By Alexander V. G. Allen, D. D., Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1889.

ing the outward facts of Edwards's life, and makes no use of unpublished manuscripts, yet never before has his majestic personality been more vividly depicted, or his career and influence so broadly and firmly outlined. The success of the book, as a portraiture of Edwards, lies in the literary skill with which its chosen method is followed. Throughout, the man is studied as revealed in his successive works, and his works are interpreted through the man and his times. Both, also, are set in the perspective of history, and estimated according to their place in its development; and though the standard of judgment which is applied is gained from the modern point of view, it is no less the result of studies that have followed with careful observation the whole movement of Christian theology. It is safe to say that this interpretation of Edwards could only have been written by one capable of producing such a work as "*The Continuity of Christian Thought*."

It is an interesting and noteworthy fact that, within a century and a half from the sudden and (to human view) premature closing of his earthly career, Edwards's works demand an interpreter. We are reminded at once how far from him and his age the world has moved in so short a time, and yet how important he is for us, how much we owe to him, and how much he has yet to give. Of only the greater, or rather the greatest, minds is such repeated interpretation called for. The smaller explain themselves, or have nothing to say. Not only divine prophecy has "springing and germinant accomplishment," to use Lord Bacon's phrase, but all profound thought and full and genuine spiritual life. Interpretation is the revivification of life in its appointed vernal season. The commentator may be a Dryasdust, he should be a reproducer and creator. It is matter for congratulation that Edwards's latest interpreter is endowed for the task, lacking neither in spiritual sympathy nor philosophical grasp.

Professor Allen finds not a few contradictions in Edwards's thought, traces of by-ways, points where there were mental struggles and confusions, changes and stages of opinion, — more, we think, than can be verified. Yet of what leader in the apprehension of Christian doctrine, or indeed in any realm of the spirit, in music, philosophy, science, is not such a record to some extent true? Consistency may be gained at the expense of truth, as clearness by shallowness. If Platonism were a wholly self-consistent system, it would never have charmed the centuries as it has, nor required ever-new exposition. Athanasius is no less awed by the baffling mystery, than resolute in the confession, of "the

Consubstantial." Augustine's contradictions are not eliminated by his "Retractions." "Consistent Calvinists" are not heard of for long after Calvin. Edwards is to-day a living power; Hopkinsianism, Emmonsism, Edwardeanism even, are outlived. "The Origin of Species" has proved to be an epoch-making book; Darwinism is but one camp, among others, and may be struck at the next daybreak. All great movements in the spiritual realm are fraught with manifold seeming inconsistencies; the system-makers who make all things clear and simple come after, and when their work is done there is need of a new prophet.

Usually his voice is heard amid tumult and alarm. He is deemed a disturber, an innovator, a stirrer-up of strife, and so his thoughts are worked out under the stress of controversy, though their origin is far different; and what he leaves to be commented on is not a perfected system, but a polemic, or a treatise on some single doctrine, — an "*Adversus Hæreses*," or "Orations against the Arians," or a tract on "The Freedom of a Christian Man." The system-makers come in the days of peace. They have their work to do, and we would not disparage it; but it is noteworthy and suggestive that it is not the systems as completed that live and call for ever-new interpreters, but the man who was ever greater than his system and never completed one, who was ever struggling to find the truth and to apply it, and who saw more than he could tell. So is it with the writings of Edwards: they have a centre and are parts of a system, but he wrote no *Summa theologiæ*. His own account, near the close of his life, of his method and aim in study is much more than a personal revelation: it is a philosophy of dogmatics in its deepest laws and truest aims, — the unwearying pursuit of every clue to truth, resistance of error with the heart as well as the head, the zeal of a reformer with the patience of a scholar; at length through toil and conflict the vision of a "great work, . . . a body of divinity in an entire new method" from the scholastic, in a historic, that is a vital and ever-renewing form; a synthesis of ideas and events having its unity in Him who is not only the Beginning and the End, but the ever-abiding Divine Presence in the evolution of doctrine as in the unfolding of life. Edwards was a teacher of truth who wrought in the Spirit — human, imperfect, fragmentary in achievement; his opinions upon many subjects are superseded; yet his testimony survives, and men drink and are refreshed at the fountains he opened, even as he passed through many a sterile waste of the Arminian and Deistic conceptions of God.

Professor Allen's interpretation confirms that put upon Edwards's thought by Dr. Henry B. Smith when he wrote: "The central idea of his system is that of spiritual life (holy love) as the gift of divine grace." Unfortunately, this was not the point of view from which his writings a generation ago were most studied, and for this reason, in no small degree, they had begun to fall into comparative neglect. Men in training for the Christian ministry were expected to be familiar with the "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will," but not with the sermons on "A Divine and Supernatural Light immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God" and on "Justification by Faith Alone," nor with the "Treatise on Religious Affections." One of the special services of Professor Allen's book will be, we trust, to turn attention anew to the sermon first named, and to the work on the Affections, and for such a perusal his excellent suggestions and cautions afford a needed introduction. Like the *De Imitatione Christi*, Edwards's delineation of the spiritual life is not for neophytes; it needs to be accompanied with a better presentation of the true relations of the natural to the spiritual.

Since Edwards, though a systematic thinker, left no system of theology, but only fragmentary discussions, or special treatises, which, however elaborate, never attempt more than is required for their particular purpose, and since these works were mostly occasioned by the exigencies of controversy or of practical religious instruction, it is imperative that his writings be interpreted from this point of view. Such a sermon, for instance, as that on "God's Sovereignty" cannot be justly accepted as expressive of his full conception of this theme. Many of his most important contributions to theology — the essay, for instance, on "The End for which God created the World" — were never revised by him for publication. Two volumes were edited by his son from fragmentary observations, some of them written at intervals as wide apart as the extremes of their author's ministerial life.

Professor Allen has recognized this feature of the writings with which he has to deal. Observing their chronological succession so far as this could be learned from the published works, he has traced to some extent the genesis and inner connections of Edwards's thought. The study is a fruitful one. It is conducted with subtle power and remarkable insight; it needs, however, at several points, as Professor Allen discerns, to be aided by a fresh examination of the unpublished manuscripts. It is our purpose in the remainder of this article to offer some suggestions upon one or

more of these points, aided by copies of very many of these manuscripts prepared under the direction of Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, D. D., in connection with his edition of "The Works of President Edwards."

One point in Edwards's teaching, which is made very prominent by Professor Allen, is his conception of Divine Sovereignty as the unconditioned, arbitrary will of God. The unpublished Observations, to our mind, put this conception in a somewhat softened light, give it a different accent. The same doctrine, indeed, that appears in the sermon on "God's Sovereignty" is to be found in the manuscripts. But it meets us there more in its principle and grounds, less in its immediate use as a motive-power to the "Great Awakening." Nothing is more marked among Edwards's characteristics than the firmness, tenacity, persistence of his purpose. If he is chasing a fallacy, he hunts it, as one has said, out of the world. So, if he is tracking and pursuing a sin, he drives it from every refuge, and consistently with his fundamental principle that being is everything, he makes no distinction between the sin and the sinner who commits it. Men have learned that his premises were too narrow, but what we wish now to say is, they were too narrow for Edwards himself. When he is not intent upon certain practical results, when he is less moved by the thought that he is an ambassador for the King of kings and must assert his Master's prerogatives unconditionally, his conception of sovereignty is more ethical and complete. We would not, however, make too much of this, for the same qualification, we think, is required by passages in his published writings. The will of God meant to Edwards the pity, the mercy, the affection, all that psychology includes under "the sensibilities," as well as the divine choice and purpose. God's "mere" pleasure or arbitrary decree did not signify a choice without reason, or a purpose without wisdom, or justice, or benevolence, but just the contrary; it was the good pleasure of a Being infinitely cognizant of all excellence and purposeful to maintain it. It included a divine control of that which seemed contrary and hostile to good, of the one ultimate evil; it assured the inevitable subjection of a seemingly uncontrolled lawlessness to a law which had in it the power of an infinite personal will. There can be no question that the presentation of the subject was in many respects misleading and unfortunate. Man the sinner and man the creature were hopelessly confused. His responsibility filled the compass of thought, his fall and corruption darkened the whole natural horizon. No distinctly conscious

thought appears of the larger and encompassing reality that man, though sinful, is still the child of God, that his history is an evolution, that his finiteness and weakness and need of guidance are as real as his sin; that there is a divine education of the race and of the individual as well as a moral probation; and that the Son of man is the appointed Head of humanity in both relations. But if Edwards here was narrow in his view, it is not breadth simply to see the truth he failed to discern. Kant teaches as radical a doctrine of depravity as Edwards. The latter's fundamental postulate cannot be shaken, — the universality of sin. Jesus teaches that man's greatest need is not guidance but recovery, not truth but life.

But not to digress too far, how do the unpublished manuscripts, to confine ourselves to their testimony, qualify the representation that Edwards's leading theological principle was that of arbitrary sovereignty, that his practical thought of God was absorbed in the conception of an immanent and unconditioned Will?

It must be acknowledged that in one passage, at least, there is an unqualified application of Edwards's idealistic philosophy to that which is most personal in human life. Edwards wrote, some years, if we mistake not, before he preached his famous Boston sermon on "God Glorified in Man's Dependence," these words: "An inclination is nothing but God's influencing the soul according to a certain law of nature." By this time, and probably long before, he had worked out his doctrine of original sin, with its tremendous inferences as to man's moral darkness, helplessness, and culpability. Indeed, the speculation respecting identity with Adam is to be found in an Observation written not much later, perhaps earlier, than his licensure (1722). Professor Allen's speculation as to the ultimate motive of the sermon on Dependence (pp. 63, 64) is also, I think, strikingly confirmed. For in another of Edwards's very early Observations we discern the recoil of his soul as he came from the mount with shining face, and saw men given over to idolatries. "Now the rectitude of human nature and of rational beings," he remarks, "most certainly is that they should be most highly affected with the highest excellencies and less affected with lower excellencies; that the mind should have the sweetest taste and most quick and exquisite delight of those things that are truly most delightful, and a lower delight and slower relish of those things that in themselves are less delightful; that the things that are most beautiful and amiable, as soon as ever they are seen, should most ravish the eye, and those things which are

less beautiful should less please the sight; that men should have the quickest and easiest, highest and most delightful, perception of that which is best, and the slowest and dullest perception of that which is less good. This is the rectitude of human nature, and thus human nature once was; or else most certainly human nature proceeded from God an inconsistent, self-repugnant, and contradictory thing. But we know, as well as we know that we have being, that this rectitude is not the present state of human nature." Here is the deepest root of Edwards's dark doctrine of human nature. It suggests, also, the inmost meaning to him of the divine sovereignty. Not Spinozism and Augustinianism, we conceive, were here the poles of his thought, but the brightness and fullness of the divine excellence, the consequent and contrasted sinfulness and guilt of men.

We are already far on the way to a recognition that the divine to Edwards was not ultimately an unconditioned and arbitrary will. It should, however, be observed that Edwards had not merely a general doctrine of the divine sovereignty, but a very special and Calvinistic one, that of a permission of sin which made it a part of a divine purpose that insured its certainty, and controlled it by the method of election and preterition. Edwards never tires of presenting this conception or aspect of arbitrary sovereignty. Here, it is claimed, appears in full evidence a cardinal principle of his theology, and this principle is the all-determining will of God. The unpublished *Observations* show no change of front here. Yet the conclusion which is claimed is not thereby justified. These acts of sovereignty are parts of a larger scheme, acts in a greater drama. His doctrine of election can only be understood in its connection with his conception of theology as a "History of the Work of Redemption, . . . considering the affair of Christian Theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great work of redemption by Jesus Christ." We have said that he wrote in fragments; what is now quoted shows that he knew this, and it imposes a special obligation on his interpreters. We do not believe that were he now living he would maintain unadjusted and unchanged his exact doctrine of election; but we are equally clear that it was not a theory which gave supremacy to the mere will of God. The evidence of this will appear when we consider what he writes of the End of God in Creation, and of the Trinity. Before proceeding to this we may, though the limits of our space preclude our entering far into the intricacies of this subject, touch upon incidental proofs that he did not thus centralize his thought in the divine Will.

In one of his Observations, he says: "It hardly seems to me true to say that the command of God is the prime ground of all the duty we owe to God. Obedience is but one part of the duty we owe to God. . . . Our obligation to obedience is not the prime ground of our duty to love Him and honor Him. But on the contrary, our obligation to love and honor God, and to exercise a supreme regard to God, is the very proper ground of our obligation to obey. . . . There is something prior to God's command, that is the ground and reason why his command obliges." If the will of God were to Edwards supreme, objective fact, obedience would be to him the supreme and all-inclusive duty. The reverse is true.

This accords with the preëminence he gives to Faith. Dr. Allen has elucidated the theological significance of Edwards's masterly sermon on "Justification by Faith Only." His unpublished Observations show that the subject was much on his mind and heart, and the central position in the recovery and spiritual life of men which he assigned to Faith.¹

The unpublished papers shed light on his use of the word "arbitrary." Discussing the question, whether his contention that there is a natural fitness in faith's being the condition or method of receiving salvation does not militate against the doctrine that salvation is an arbitrary divine bestowment, he says that the phrase, "God's arbitrary constitution," is commonly used to denote that "God still remains absolutely at liberty from any such thing as we call obligation, or any indebtedness to men, to fix one way and not another." He further contends that the "arbitrary constitution" by which faith is required is seen by reason to be suitable, and to reveal the divine wisdom, and asks, "When reason shows us that the things which God does have a

¹ In one respect, Dr. Allen's exposition of Edwards's sermon seems to require qualification, namely, the ascription to Edwards of "silence" respecting Christ's organic union with the believer, and the explanation of this supposed silence. Edwards does not insist on the mystical word "union;" he will accept for his purpose the word "relation." Nevertheless, he says distinctly, "What is real in the union between Christ and his people is the foundation of what is legal." I find that he — previously, I infer — wrote these exact words in his note-book. They are his most deliberate utterance, first (apparently) committed to his private Observations, then copied into a sermon, then published, — each his own act. As to the explanation, — apart from there being, as I conceive, no fact which requires the supposition that "he saw no inward significance" in Christ's organic relation to a redeemed humanity, — I think that it will appear that he discerned this, though under rigid limitations.

suitableness in their own nature, is it absurd for us to suppose that God does them because it is suitable and wise?" And again, in a later Observation, he affirms that if the phrase, "arbitrary constitution," means a constitution without divine wisdom, and if faith is said to be required "only because it was his [God's] pleasure to appoint this to be a requisite," the assertion is "absurd." Still another meaning of "arbitrary" appears in other Observations, where it signifies "bound to no knowable law," above "the course of his [the Spirit's] ordinary dispensation;" "not confined to certain unalterable rules and laws in all circumstances, but acts done more in the manner of intelligent, voluntary creatures, and more directly showing the will and arbitrament of the Governor," — "done in the most general proportion, not tied to any particular proportion." An arbitrary will to Edwards meant a supreme will, but one acting "in the most general proportion," that is, guided by an absolute wisdom. The phrase emphasizes also the divine personality as over against particular instituted laws. Grace, as Dr. Allen observes, is with Edwards something personal; it is God himself. So is sovereignty, and the word "arbitrary" emphasizes this to his mind. Sovereignty is one aspect of Infinite Excellence viewed as personal. "There is no gift or benefit," he says, "that is so much in God, that is so much of himself, of his nature, that is so much a communication of the Deity, as grace is. . . . As this will show why God will bestow this good more immediately and directly, so also why He will specially exercise and manifest his sovereignty and free pleasure in bestowing of this gift. *God's grace is eminently his own.*" We touch here the deepest chord that vibrates in Edwards's doctrine of sovereignty, and we are not surprised to hear him say of free grace, that it is a manifestation "of a loving and good nature;" and of the divine love, that it "is the sum of all the exercises of the divine will."

Edwards's doctrine of divine arbitrariness has another relation, already suggested, but deserving more particular attention. In a paper written in his later years, certainly not prior to 1754, and probably a year or two afterwards, he notices that "the late discoveries and advances which have been made in natural philosophy" compel "all men of sense, who are also men of learning," to admit "a present immediate operation of God on the creation." Yet, he further observes, many who concede such divine action suppose it to be invariably limited by what are called "laws of nature," by which Edwards understands especially the laws of

matter and motion. Edwards claims that such restricted immediate action of God is impossible without a prior operation which he calls "arbitrary," not as being without wisdom, but as having the freedom and fullness of plenary wisdom. "It is the glory of God," he says, "that He is an arbitrary Being; that originally He in all things acts as being limited and directed in nothing but his own wisdom, tied to no other rules and laws but the directions of his own infinite understanding." Following this thought, he almost breaks over the bounds of his own determinism, claiming that in man there is an image of the divine freedom, "a secondary and dependent arbitrariness." He contends that the higher we ascend in the scale of beings, the more do we find evidence of God's "arbitrary influence." There is something more in the lowest forms of existence than the laws of matter and motion. Plants, in their rising gradations, show distinct laws; animals, something "more singular" and "nearer akin to an arbitrary influence;" the mind of man, and preëminently his spiritual faculties, the angels "who always behold the face of the Father which is in heaven and constantly receive his commands on every occasion," above all, the man Christ Jesus, "who is united personally to the Godhead," evince the possibility and reality of a divine operation superior to any action that is wholly conditioned by natural laws. We cannot enlarge at this point, but enough has been said to show something of the scope of his conception. The word "arbitrary," as he uses it, covers all that theology has included under the term "supernatural." Granted that the natural is too much depreciated, especially its religious significance, and that the word "arbitrary" is a most unfortunate one, the grandeur of Edwards's thought is still apparent. Originally and ultimately, everywhere and always, the only real law in which intelligence can rest is "the law of the infinite wisdom of the omniscient first cause." Man is not dependent now for divine knowledge solely on natural media, but has access to God and God to him, and he may anticipate a yet higher freedom of intercourse when knowledge will flow to him far more directly and fully from the "head of the universe and . . . the fountain and first spring of all." Not only against a Deistic conception of natural laws, but equally against an overestimate of them as a divine revelation, Edwards's doctrine of arbitrariness is a permanent protest from a mind capable of the highest achievements in science. We do not believe that in this regard the wonderful disclosures it has made since his day, if he could have foreseen them, would have altered

his position a hair's-breadth. Still, in the realm of pure and high intelligence, there is no necessary law but "the infinite wisdom of the omniscient first cause," nor, however vast the range of the finite, can it ever satiate the thirst of the soul for the living God.

All this prepares for what we find in Edwards's discussion of the End of God in Creation. His comments on this subject, like those on Justification and the Trinity, run through his ministry. If not too presumptuous, we would venture the opinion that, next to his vindication of the immediateness of the spiritual life, his greatest contribution to theology will prove to be his "Dissertation on the End for which God created the World." It is a posthumous and we may suspect an unfinished work, and we may therefore with the more freedom connect with it discussions found among his private papers. Its right understanding, or rather a just appreciation of Edwards's whole thought on this theme, is indispensable to a correct interpretation of his doctrine of God's sovereignty. We can here but touch upon aspects of his thought which are fitted to qualify criticisms that have been passed, particularly that his representation enthrones over the universe "an infinite and celestial selfishness," and that, through his failure to appreciate the divine Sonship of our Lord and "the Christian Trinity," he was left in philosophical bewilderment whether he should turn to "an eternal Christ" or "an eternal creation," and how he could utterly renounce the Deistic conception of God, and yet save himself from pantheism.

In the period before his ordination (1727), or in the earliest years at Northampton, Edwards wrote a number of Observations, some immediately consecutive, all in apparently rapid succession, from which, using the copies to which reference has been made, we will now make extracts in the order of their production.

"*Happiness.* It is evident that the end of man's creation must needs be happiness from the motive of God's creating the world, which could be nothing else but his goodness. If it be said that the end of man might be that he might manifest his power, wisdom, holiness, and justice; so I say too; but the question is, Why God would make known his power, wisdom, etc.; what could move Him to will that there should be some beings that might know his power and wisdom? It could be nothing else but his goodness."

"*Name of the Lord.* The children of Israel used to speak of the Name of the Lord in a manner to us very unintelligible. They used to attribute those things to it of which a name merely is not capable, but only Persons or Distinct Beings. Thus they spake of it as what they trusted in; as what delivered them and defended them. . . . They seem frequently to have meant, by the Name of the Lord, the sensible manifestations of his presence. . . . Though

they spake of the Name of God as if it had been God himself, they yet also spake of it as if it had been another Person, and made a distinction between the Lord and the Name of the Lord. The Name of the Lord was He who most immediately appeared in the Temple and is the only Redeemer of God's Israel, and who manifested and declared God the Father all along from the beginning; who was the *Shechinah*, in whom they trusted, and for whose sake they desired that their prayers might be answered."¹

"*Justice of God.* It appears plain enough that an Omnipotent and Omniscient Being can have no desire of being unjust for his own advantage; because He can so easily bring about all his ends without it. But this appears beyond all objection, if we consider the Nature of Excellency, which is *beings' consent to entity*, and we have shown that this must necessarily be consentaneous or agreeable to perceiving being; and that the contrary contradiction, *dissent to entity*, must necessarily be disagreeable to it. Hence it follows that all excellency, when perceived, will be agreeable to perceiving beings; and all evil disagreeable. But God, being Omniscient, must necessarily perceive all excellency, and fully know what is contrary to it, and therefore all excellency is perfectly agreeable to his will, and all evil perfectly disagreeable; and therefore He cannot will to do anything but what is excellent. But justice is excellency."

"*Trinity.*² There has been much cry of late against saying one word, particularly about the Trinity, but what the Scripture has said, judging it impossible but that, if we did, we should err in a thing so much above us. But if they call that which necessarily results from the putting of reason and Scripture together, though it has not been said in Scripture in express words, I say if they call this, not said in the Scriptures, I am not afraid to say twenty things about the Trinity which the Scripture never said. . . .

"I think that it is within the reach of naked reason to perceive certainly that there are three, distinct, in God, each of which is the same, three that must be distinct; and that there are not, nor can be any more, distinct, really and truly distinct, but three. . . . It is often said that God is infinitely happy, from all eternity, in the view and enjoyment of himself, in the reflection and inverse love of his own essence, that is, in the perfect idea He has of himself — infinitely perfect. The Almighty's knowledge is not so different from ours but that ours is the image of it. It is by an idea as ours is, only it is infinitely perfect. . . . An absolutely perfect idea of a thing is the very thing, for it wants nothing that is in the thing; substance or nothing else. . . . Whatsoever is perfectly and absolutely like a thing, is that thing; but God's idea is absolutely perfect. I will form my reasoning thus: If nothing has any existence any way at all but in some consciousness or idea or other; and therefore that things, that are in us created consciousness, have no existence but in the

¹ Cf. Dr. Allen's *Jonathan Edwards*, p. 334.

² Most and probably all of the citations I make on this subject are from Observations written from twenty to twenty-five years at least before the publication of Chevalier Ramsay's *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Glasgow, 1748-1749. From a statement of Dr. Dwight (*Life*, p. 56), and the number of this first Observation on the Trinity printed above, it would be inferred that it was written before Edwards was nineteen years of age. It cannot be much later.

divine idea ; or, supposing the things in this room were in the idea of none but of God, they would have existence no other way (as we have shown in Natural Philosophy) ; and if the things in this room would nevertheless be real things ; then God's idea, being a perfect idea, is really the thing itself ; and if so, and all God's ideas are only the one idea of himself, as has been shown, then God's idea must be his essence itself, it must be a substantial idea, having all the perfection of the substance perfectly ; so that by God's reflecting on himself the Deity is begotten : there is a *Substantial Image* of God begotten. I am satisfied that though this word *begotten* had never been used in Scripture, it would have been used in this case ; there is no other word that so properly expresses it. . . .

"Again : That Image of God which God infinitely loves, and has his chief delight in, is the Perfect Idea of God. . . . But the Scriptures tell us that the Son of God is that Image of God which He infinitely loves. Nobody will deny this, that God infinitely loves his Son (John iii. 35 ; v. 20). So it was declared from heaven by the Father at his baptism and transfiguration. . . . So the Father calls Him his Elect, in whom his soul delighteth (Isa. xlii. 1). He is called 'the Beloved' (Eph. i. 6). The Son also declares that the Father's infinite happiness consisted in the enjoyment of Him (Prov. viii. 30). Now none, I suppose, will say that God enjoys infinite happiness in two manners ; one in the infinite delight He has in enjoying his Son, his Image, and another in the view of himself different from this. . . .

"There is very much of the image of this in ourselves. Man is as if he were two, as some of the great wits of this age have observed, a sort of genius is with man, that accompanies him, and attends wherever he goes, so that a man has a conversation with himself, that is, he has a conversation with his own idea ; so that, if his idea be excellent, he will take great delight and happiness in conferring and communicating with it ; he takes complacency in himself, he applauds himself ; and wicked men accuse themselves, and fight with themselves, as if they were two ; and man is truly happy then, and only then, when these two agree, and they delight in themselves, and in their own idea, their image, as God delights in his.

"The Holy Spirit is the Act of God, between the Father and the Son infinitely loving and delighting in each other. Sure I am that if the Father and the Son do infinitely delight in each other there must be an infinitely pure and perfect Act between them, an infinitely sweet energy which we call delight. This is certainly distinct from the other two ; . . . and yet it is God : the pure and perfect Act of God is God, because God is a pure Act ; . . . that which acts perfectly is all act, and nothing but act. There is an image of this in created beings that approach to perfect action ; how frequently do we say that the saints of heaven are all transformed into love, dissolved into joy, become activity itself, changed into extasy. I acknowledge these are metaphorical in this case ; but yet it is true that the more perfect the act is, the more it resembles the infinitely perfect act of God in this respect. And I believe it will be plain to any that thinks intently, that the perfect Act of God must be a substantial act. We say that the perfect delights of reasonable creatures are substantial delights, but the delight of God is properly a substance, yea, an infinitely perfect substance, even the essence of God. It appears, by the

Holy Scriptures, that the Holy Spirit is the perfect Act of God. The name declares it; *the Spirit of God* denotes to us the activity, vivacity, and energy of God; and it appears that the Holy Spirit is the pure act of God, and energy of the Deity by his office which is to actuate and quicken all things. . . . And if God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him, doubtless this intends principally the infinite love God has to himself, so that the Scripture has implicitly told us that that love which is between the Father and the Son, is God.¹ . . .

"It may be observed that at this rate one may prove an infinite number of persons in the godhead, for each person has an idea of the other person, . . . but you will argue that his idea must be substantial. I answer, that the Son is the Father's idea, himself; and if He has an idea of this idea, it is yet the same idea; a perfect idea of an idea is the same idea still, to all intents and purposes. . . . And if you say the Holy Spirit has an idea of the Father, I answer: The Holy Spirit is himself the delight and joyfulness of the Father in that Idea, and of that Idea in the Father. It is still the Idea of the Father; so that if we turn it all the ways in the world, we shall never be able to make more than these three; God, the idea of God, and delight in God. . . .

"I think it really evident from the light of reason that there are these three, distinct, in God. If God has an idea of himself there is really a Duplicity, because if there is no duplicity it will follow that *Jehovah* thinks of himself no more than a stone; and if God loves himself and delights in himself, there is really a Triplicity; three that cannot be confounded; each of which are (?) the Deity substantially.

"And this is the only distinction that can be found or thought of in God. If it shall be said that there are power, wisdom, goodness, and holiness in God, and that these may or will be proved to be distinct persons, because everything that is in God is God; I answer: As to the power of God, power always consists in something; the power of the mind consists in its wisdom, the power of the body in plenty of animal spirits, etc. . . . And as it is distinct from those other things it is only a relation of adequateness and sufficiency of the essence to everything. But if we distinguish it from relation, it is nothing else but the essence of God, and if we take it for that by which God exerts himself, it is no other than the Father; for the perfect energy of God with respect to himself is the most proper exertion of himself of which the creation of the world is but a shadow. As to the Wisdom of God, . . . this . . . is the same with the Son of God. And as to Goodness, the eternal exertion of the essence of that attribute is nothing but infinite Love, which . . . may be resolved into God's infinite love to himself; therefore this attribute, as it was exerted from eternity, is nothing but the Holy Spirit. . . . And as to Holiness, it is delight in excellency; it is God's highest consent to himself, or in other words his perfect delight in himself, which we have shown to be the Holy Spirit."

¹ Dr. Allen says: "It is the common mode of speech to say that God is love. It indicates some profound change in the basis of thought when the expression is reversed and it is said that love is God. But to such a mode of thinking Edwards had come. And now the qualifications of his earlier writings," etc., *op. cit.* p. 367. But it will be observed this precise reversed expression occurs in this early Observation.

We may add here that the paper quoted by Dr. Allen on pp. 355, 356, was probably written very soon after the one from which we are quoting above.

Trinity. It appears that there must be more than a unity in infinite and eternal essence ; otherwise the goodness of God can have no perfect exercises. To be perfectly good is to incline to, and delight in, making another happy in the same proportion as it is happy itself ; that is, it delights as much in communicating happiness to another as in enjoying it himself, and is an inclination to communicate all his happiness. . . . But to no finite being can God either incline to communicate goodness so much as He inclines to be happy himself, for He cannot love a creature so much as He loves himself, neither can He communicate all his goodness to a finite being. But no absolutely perfect Being can be without absolutely perfect goodness. And no being can be perfectly happy who has not the exercise of that which He perfectly inclines to exercise ; wherefore God must have a perfect exercise of his goodness, and therefore must have the fellowship of a person equal with himself."

"End of the Creation. We have proved that the end of the creation must needs be happiness and the communication of the goodness of God ; and that nothing but the Almighty's inclination to communicate of his own happiness could be the motive to Him to create the world ; and that man or intelligent being is the immediate object of this goodness, and subject of this communicated happiness. And we have shown also that the Father's begetting of the Son is a complete communication of all his happiness, and so an eternal, adequate, and infinite exercise of perfect goodness that is completely equal to such an inclination in perfection ; why, then, did God incline further to communicate himself, seeing he had done it infinitely and completely ? Can there be an inclination to communicate goodness more than adequately to the inclination ? To say so, is to say, that to communicate goodness adequate to the inclination, is not yet adequate, inasmuch as he inclines to communicate further as in the creation of the world. To this I say, that the Son is the adequate communication of the Father's goodness, and is an express and complete image of Him. But yet the Son has also an inclination to communicate himself in an image of his person, that may partake of his happiness, and this was the end of the creation, even the communication of the happiness of the Son of God, and this was the only motive herein, even the Son's inclination to this. But God the Father is not the object of this, for the Father is not a communication of the Son, and therefore not the object of the Son's goodness ; but man, that is those of them that are holy ; as the Son says (Psalm xvi. 2, 3). It is Christ here speaks, as is evident by the following passage, and man, the consciousness or perception of the creation, is the immediate subject of this. Therefore the Church is said to be the completeness of Christ (Eph. i. 23), 'Which is his body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.' As if Christ were not complete without the Church, as having a natural inclination thereto. We are incomplete without that which we have a natural inclination to. The man is incomplete without the woman: she is himself. . . .

"Corol. 3. Therefore the Son created and doth govern the world ; seeing that the world was a communication of Him, and seeing the communicating of his happiness is the end of the world."

"Deity. Many have wrong conceptions of the difference between the Nature of the Deity and that of Created spirits. The difference is no contrariety."

"Union Spiritual. From what insight I have into the nature of minds I am convinced that there is no guessing what kind of union and mixtion by

consciousness, or otherwise, there may be between them ; so that all difficulty is removed in believing what the Scripture declares about spiritual union of the persons of the Trinity, of the two natures of Christ, of Christ and the minds of saints."

"*God.* The greatness of a soul consists not in any *extension*, but in its *comprehensiveness of idea and extendedness of operation*. So the Infiniteness of God consists in his perfect comprehension of all things, and the extendedness of operation equally to all places. . . . We ought to conceive of God as being Omnipotence, Perfect Knowledge, and Perfect Love, . . . and not as if He were a sort of unknown Thing, that we call Substance, that is extended."

"*Christian Religion.* It seems to me exceedingly congruous and in the highest manner consentaneous that a God, a being of infinite goodness and love, who, it is evident from mere reason, created the world for this very end, to make the creature happy in his love : I say it seems exceedingly congruous, that He should give to the creature the highest sort of evidence or expression of love. For why should not that love, which is infinitely higher than any other and the love of a being infinitely more excellent, of which other love is but the emanation and shadow ; why should not that love have the highest and most noble manifestations and the surest evidences ? Now we know that the highest sort of manifestations and evidence of love is *expense* for the beloved. How much soever the lover gives or communicates to the beloved, yet, if he is at no expense himself, there is not that high and noble expression of love as if otherwise. Now I can clearly and distinctly conceive how the giving of Christ should have all that in it that renders it every way an equal and like and perfectly equivalent expression of love to the greatest expense in a lover ; as I have shown elsewhere. And this is a way that is exceedingly noble and excellent and agreeable to the glorious perfections of God. But no other way can be conceived of ; and they that deny the Christian religion can pretend to no other ; and if they do it is impossible they should think of any in any measure so exalted, noble, and excellent."

"*Glory of God.* For God to glorify himself is to discover himself in his works, or to communicate himself in his works, which is all one. For we are to remember that the world exists only mentally ; so that the very being of the world implies its being perceived, or discovered. Or otherwise, for God to glorify himself, is, in his acts *ad extra*, to act worthy of himself, or to act excellently. Therefore God does not seek his own glory because it makes Him the happier to be honored and highly thought of, but because He loves to see himself, his own excellencies and glories appearing in his works. He loves to see himself communicated, and it was his inclination to communicate himself, that was a prime motive of his creating the world. His own glory was the ultimate end ; himself was his end ; that is, himself communicated."

"*End of the Creation.* It is, indeed, a condecant thing that God should be the Ultimate End of the creation, as well as the Cause ; that in creation He should make himself his end, that He should in this respect be *omega* as well as *alpha*. The Scripture saith, 'God hath made all things for himself,' and this may be, and yet the reason of his creating the world be his propensity to goodness ; and the communication of happiness to creatures be the end. It, perhaps, was thus : God created the world for his Son, that He might prepare a

spouse, or bride, for Him to bestow his love upon, so that the mutual joys between the bride and bridegroom are the end of the creation. God is really happy in loving his creatures, because in so doing He as it were glorifies a natural propensity in the divine nature, namely, goodness. Yea, and He is really delighted in the love of his creatures, and in their glorifying Him, because He loves them and not because He needs; for He could not be happy therein, were it not for his love and goodness; (Col. i. 16) 'All things were made by him, and for him;' that is, for the Son."

"*Trinity.* . . . After you have in your imagination multiplied understandings and loves never so often, it will be the understanding and being of the very same essence, and you can never make more than these three: God, and the Idea of God, and the Love of God. Hereby I would not be understood to pretend to give a full explication of the Trinity; for I think it still remains an incomprehensible mystery, the greatest and most glorious of all mysteries."

"*End of the Incarnation and Death of Christ.* The infinite love, which there is from everlasting between the Father and the Son, is the highest excellency and peculiar glory of the Deity. God saw it therefore meet, that there should be some bright and glorious manifestation made of it to the creatures; which is done in the Incarnation and death of the Son of God. Hereby was most clearly manifested to men and angels the Distinction of the Persons of the Trinity. The infinite love of the Father to the Son is thereby manifested, in that for his sake He would forgive an infinite debt, would be reconciled with, and receive into his favor and to his enjoyment, those that had rebelled against Him and injured his infinite Majesty; and in exalting of Him to that high mediatorial glory. And Christ showed his infinite love to the Father in his infinitely abasing himself for the vindication of his authority, and the honor of his Majesty. When God had a mind to save men, Christ infinitely laid out himself that the honor of God's majesty might be safe, and that God's glory might be advanced."

"*Holy Ghost.* It appears that the Holy Spirit is the holiness or excellency and delight of God, because our Communion with God, and with Christ, consists in our partaking of the Holy Ghost. . . . Communion with God is nothing else but a partaking with Him of his excellency, his holiness, and happiness."

"*End of Creation.* God is glorified within himself these two ways:—

"1. By appearing or being manifested to himself in his own perfect Idea, or in his Son, who is the brightness of his glory.

"2. By enjoying and delighting in himself, by flowing forth in infinite love and delight towards himself, or in his Holy Spirit.

"So God glorifies himself towards the creatures also two ways:—

"1. By appearing to them; being manifested to their understanding.

"2. In communicating himself to their hearts, and in their rejoicing and delighting in, and enjoying, the manifestations which He makes of himself.

"They both of them may be called his glory in the more extensive sense of the word, namely, his shining forth or the going forth of his excellency, beauty, and essential glory, *ad extra*. By one way it goes forth towards their understandings, by the other it goes forth towards their wills or hearts. God is glorified not only by his glory's being seen, but by its being rejoiced in. When those that see it delight in it, God is more glorified than if they only see it.

His glory is then received by the whole soul, both by the understanding and by the heart. God made the world that He might communicate and the creature receive, his glory ; but that it might be received both by the mind and heart. He that testifies his *views* or *idea* of God's glory does not glorify God so much, as he that testifies also his *approbation* of it, and his *delight* in it. Both those ways of God's glorifying himself came from the same cause, namely, the overflowing of God's internal glory, or an inclination in God to cause his internal glory to flow out *ad extra*. What God has in view in either of them, either in his manifesting his glory to the understanding or his communication of it to the heart, is not that He may receive but that He may go forth.

"The main end of his shining forth is, not that He may have his rays reflected back to himself, but that the rays may go forth."

We have thus far given extracts from notes written by Edwards before or during the earliest years of his ministry. We will give a few more from the middle and latest periods, presenting them in chronological order.

"*End of the Creation.* There are many of the divine attributes, that, if God had not created the world, never would have had any exercise : the power of God, the Wisdom of God, the prudence and contrivance of God, the goodness and mercy and grace of God, and the justice of God. It is fit that the divine attributes should have exercise. Indeed God knew as perfectly that there were those attributes fundamentally in himself before they were in exercise as since. But as God he delights in his own excellency and glorious perfections, so he delights in the exercise of those perfections. It is true that there was from eternity that act in God *within himself*, and *towards himself*, that was the exercise of the same perfection of his nature. But it was not the same kind of exercise ; it virtually contained it, but there was not explicitly the same exercise of his perfection. God, who delights in the exercise of his own perfection, delights in all the kinds of its exercise. That eternal act or energy of the divine nature *within him*, whereby he infinitely loves and delights in himself, I suppose does imply, fundamentally, goodness and grace towards creatures, if there be that occasion which infinite wisdom sees fit. But God, who delights in his own perfection, delights in seeing those exercises of his perfection explicitly in being, that are fundamentally implied."

"*End of the Creation.* The glory of the Lord in Scripture seems to signify the excellent brightness and fulness of God, and especially as spread abroad, diffused, and as it were enlarged : or in one word the excellency of God flowing forth. This was represented in the Shechinah of old. . . . Therefore the diffusing of the sweetness and blessedness of the divine nature is God's glorifying himself, in a Scripture sense, as well as his manifesting his perfection to their understandings. The beams, that flow forth from the infinite fountain of light and life, do not only carry light, but life, with them ; and therefore this light is called the light of life, as the beams of the sun have both light and warmth, and do both enlighten and quicken, and so bless, the face of the earth.

"This twofold way of the Deity's flowing forth *ad extra*, answers to the twofold way of the Deity's proceeding *ad intra*, in the proceeding and genera-

tion of the Son, and the proceeding and breathing forth of the Holy Spirit; and indeed is only a kind of second proceeding of the same persons; their going forth *ad extra* as before they proceed *ad intra*."

"*End of the Creation.* . . . These two ways of the divine good beaming forth, are agreeable to the two ways of the divine essence flowing out or proceeding from eternity within the godhead, in the person of the Son and Holy Spirit; the one in an expression of his glory, in the idea or knowledge of it; the other, the flowing out of the essence in love and joy. It is condecant that, correspondent to these proceedings of the divinity *ad intra*, God should also flow forth *ad extra*.

"The one last end of all things may be expressed, thus: It is, that the infinite good might be communicated; that it might be communicated to, or rather in, the understanding of the creature, which communication is God's declarative glory; and that it might be communicated to the other faculty (usually, though not very expressively, called the Will), which communication is the making the creature happy in God, as a partaker of God's happiness."

"*End of the Creation. God's Glory.* . . . Although the things which God inclines to and aims at are in some respects two, namely, exercising or exerting the perfections of his nature and the effect of that [exertion], namely, communicating himself; yet these may be reduced to one, namely, God's exerting himself in order to this effect. . . . It is himself exerted, and himself communicated, and both together are what is called God's glory."

In one of his earlier Observations Edwards claims that Calvinists admit that Christ died "to give all an opportunity to be saved," and adds: "He did die for all in this sense; it is past all contradiction." And in another he breaks over the bounds of the traditional theology in these words:—

"Such thoughts as these are ready to run into our minds when we think of the death of Christ; and would enflame our hearts with a sense of our love therefrom, that we cannot certainly argue so great love of the eternal Logos from it, for the Logos felt nothing, no pain, and suffered no disgrace, but it was the Human Nature. But I answer, The Love the Human Nature had to mankind, and by which he was prompted to undergo so much, it had only by virtue of its union with the Logos; it was all derived from the love of the Logos, or else they would not be one person. Many things also might be said together with this."

Many things, certainly! And among them this. If, as indeed it was, the love of Jesus was the love of God, what must be the origin and fountain of his "enthusiasm for humanity?" In one of Edwards's later Observations the end for which the world was created is stated as in his earliest,—that the Son might have "an object for his infinite grace and love," and Christ is presented as the ground of Election, and "The Purpose which God purposed in Him" is called the "Sum of God's Decrees." In all this, however, we find no conscious modification of the tradi-

tional doctrine of Election. It is still the task of Theology, on this subject, as on others, to follow out to their legitimate conclusions principles which Edwards introduced, but failed to develop — most of all these two, that Love is God, and the end of Creation the Glory of this Love as revealed through Christ and communicated by his Spirit.

Egbert C. Smyth.

EDITORIAL.

THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF NEGROES.

THE sentiment of the North, without becoming less considerate of the freedmen, is becoming more sympathetic with the white citizens of the Southern States in respect to the relation of the two races. There is a growing appreciation of the inherent difficulties of the situation. The unfitness of large numbers of the blacks to participate in government is beginning to be realized in the North. Such an orator as the late Mr. Grady, of Georgia, is heard not only with admiration of his eloquence, but also with candid recognition of his facts, when he portrays to the leading men of Boston the intellectual deficiencies of the negro population of the South, and the dangers involved in their enjoyment of the political power to which they are legally entitled, although some of his inferences are not accepted. This is saying that the North is passing into a second, and a very sober second, thought about this vast and perplexing problem. It is seen that the Southern whites are not actuated merely by unreasoning dislike of the negroes, nor wholly by a sullen resentment because they must live in changed relations with those who were formerly their slaves, nor altogether by an obstinate unwillingness to accept the results of defeat in the conflict which ended twenty-five years ago. It is seen that those Southerners who are entirely free from such feelings, and many of those Northerners who have taken up their residence in the South, are greatly perplexed about the whole matter. It was only natural that for several years after the war the people of the North should be unsympathetic with the aversion of the South to admit negroes to a share of political power. In view of the part slavery had played in producing the war, in view of the enormous sacrifice by which it had been abolished, in view of the oppression and even cruelty under which slaves had suffered, it was inevitable that feelings of exasperation and of distrust towards the South should prevail. But time has softened indignation and asperity. It has also introduced new factors into the relations of blacks and whites, and into the relations of North and South. There is a new generation, constituting the majority of voters in all parts of the country, who know of slavery only as a thing of the past, which existed in their youth, or even before they were born. There is a new generation of blacks who were never in slavery at all, or only when they were children and knew nothing of its meaning. The negro population has also increased from four millions at the end of the war to ten millions now, a ratio of gain somewhat greater than that of the whole country, and even more largely in excess of that in the region they occupy. The growth of industrial interests in the South, and the extension of diversified commercial relations with the North, have also contributed much to a better understanding between the two sections. There is obviously an

advantage for the discussion and treatment of difficulties in this change of feeling. The elements of indignation and vindictiveness on the side of the victors in a war, and the element of resentment on the side of the conquered, have become weaker, so that the conditions are more favorable than formerly to a dispassionate judgment. There is a disposition to bring more patience to the task than when, in the flush of victory, it was believed that legislation could accomplish all the necessary results. And yet, as the race-problem presents itself in larger proportions, as it is seen that external measures have been inadequate, as it is seen, also, that an unguided evolution cannot be trusted to eliminate injustice and oppression, the people, we believe, will not therefore relinquish the task, but will persist in it with a patient but un baffled determination to bring to pass that which is just and right.

It is by some considered a mistake that the Constitution was amended to admit the entire body of the freedmen to the franchise under the conditions which applied to all voters in the several States. But whether it was a mistake or not, one thing is certain, that the franchise should not be, and will not be, taken away. The solution of the problem will not be found in that direction. And we do not admit that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake. Although actual voting is not at present allowed in many of the Southern States, yet such security as the blacks enjoy is due to their legal status; and the prospect of improvement in their condition and of their healthy absorption into the political community would be small indeed, if they were not in law possessed of the guarantee of the Fifteenth Amendment that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Protection and right of domicile would be worth very little, although promised by Mr. Grady and others, if the full rights of citizenship were denied or abridged. We do not see how the protection of the freedmen after the war could have been provided if the conquered States had been admitted to the Union without the solid guaranties which were incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. Nor would the South wish to have the franchise taken away, unless at the same time the Fourteenth Amendment were repealed. For to disfranchise the negroes would be to reduce the number of representatives in Congress by forty or more, and to reduce correspondingly the electoral vote for President. A resolution has, indeed, been introduced into the legislature of Mississippi proposing to Congress the repeal of that amendment. But we do not believe the people of any Southern State are so lacking in political sagacity as to propose such repeal. If it should pass, the reason would be, not expectation of success, but a desire to intimate, in an almost insulting way, that it is not proposed to admit the blacks to any participation in political affairs. It is because colored men have rights which may be enforced that their industrial development has become as considerable as many facts show it to be. A union has recently been effected between two large societies

composed of colored men to constitute a single alliance, known as the Colored Farmers' Alliance and Coöperative Union, with headquarters at Houston, Texas. A proclamation issued by the superintendent of the new society states that "we now have a million members, with business activities in more than twenty States, exchanges permanently established in half a dozen great cities, and we are everywhere enjoying the greatest goodwill and the hearty coöperation of the white inhabitants of all the States." In Louisiana the Colored Farmers' Union has made arrangements with the Farmers' Union (white) to use the agencies of the latter in trading, thus receiving the benefits of cheap goods without the expense of a separate agency, and uniting the financial strength of both orders.¹ Such indications of progress are most encouraging as indicating an industry, a practical sagacity, and a habit of economy beyond what was generally expected twenty years ago. But if the freedmen had been left without the rights of citizenship and voting, and therefore in a state of peonage, it may be doubted whether they would have made so substantial gains in prosperity, or would have had the incentives to organize so generally and effectively even in the interests of economy.

The practical question is pressing upon us how to do justice to the negro, and at the same time promote the interests of the South and of the whole country. The deportation scheme is impracticable. It is a physical impossibility to transport ten millions of people to Africa. To establish them in the Southwestern Territories is equally impracticable. They could not be shut up in a limited area. Neither could the industries of the South be maintained without their labor, as it is estimated they produce from the soil values annually of one billion of dollars. They must remain where they are. The method proposed by the South is to use the labor of the blacks, but to keep them from voting, if need be by intimidation. The method advocated in the North is to make the negroes fit to vote intelligently, and therefore to educate them. The North still believes in this method. Large sums of money have been and will be expended, and many teachers employed, to educate the blacks. The healthy industrial development which is going forward is looked on with deep satisfaction, because it is a kind of education and the best preparation possible for taking part in public affairs. Political and industrial interests are mutually dependent, and it is believed the negroes will not be slow to understand what political measures are economically advantageous. It is thought, whatever the limits of improvement may be, that the average negro can become intelligent enough to have a voice in local, state, and national affairs. It is also thought that when this degree of intelligence is reached, the South has no good reason for objecting to the participation of negroes in politics. If the South would

¹ These facts are taken from the *National Alliance*, the organ of the order, and republished in the *National Economist*, the official organ of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, published in Washington, and are quoted with comment in the *New York Nation* of February 13, 1890.

address herself in earnest to the task of political adjustment, many apparent difficulties would prove to have been imaginary; the negroes would be found supporters of good order, and, very likely, attaching themselves to different political parties as their local interests might dictate.

A definite measure is available to the several States of the South, which would meet most of the alleged difficulties of the situation. No State may deny or abridge the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but any State may deny or abridge the right to vote on account of ignorance. Let the States impose an educational qualification, requiring a moderate degree of proficiency in reading and writing. Then, if the negroes are so densely ignorant as represented, they would be lawfully denied the right of voting. But if they can sustain a moderate test of intelligence, they are as well fitted to vote as many of the whites who, perhaps, would fail under it. This test could be made yet more definite by passing ballot-reform bills, such as the States of the North are adopting. And then, if voters cannot read the names of candidates, their ballots will be lost.

Reliance must be placed chiefly, if not wholly, on the education of the negroes, on the advantage they are gaining by industrial prosperity, and on the clearer recognition by the South of the practicability, the importance, and the justice of permitting their active coöperation in government. It is doubtful whether additional legislation would bring about any desirable result. A general law placing elections under national control might be a mischievous tool of the party in power in other sections of the country, and would not reach intimidation and other influences under which the negroes are afraid to offer their votes at all.

The negro has faults and limitations, but he is peaceable, loyal, ready to learn, grateful to his friends, and is becoming industrious and honest. He is less objectionable as a citizen than many of the foreigners who pour in upon the North. While the whole country is making generous and humane efforts to assimilate various unwelcome elements, the South should accept with cheerfulness the share in this task which Providence has assigned her.

THE PROGRESS OF THE DISCUSSION ON REVISION.

"What Reformed Theology has got to do is to Christologize predestination and decrees; regeneration and sanctification; the doctrine of the Church and the whole of the Eschatology." — *Professor Henry B. Smith, D. D., LL. D.*¹

THE last General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church sent down to the Presbyteries the following question: "Do you desire a revision of the Confession of Faith?" According to a table published in the "Independent," thirty-four Presbyteries have replied in the affirma-

¹ *The Presbyterian Review*, July, 1884, p. 562.

tive, and fifteen in the negative. There are still one hundred and sixty-one to be heard from. The Presbyteries which have voted "Yes" include 1,318 ministers and 190,422 communicants; those which have voted "No" include 664 ministers and 112,717 communicants. Among the former we find the Presbyteries of Baltimore, Morris and Orange, Brooklyn, New York, Troy, Rochester, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Paul. Ten of the fifteen negative votes are from a single State; the affirmative Presbyteries are located in Texas, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Montana. The opinion in favor of revision is evidently widespread, and it is confidently predicted that if no unforeseen change occurs, it will carry by a large majority.

The Assembly submitted a second question to the Presbyteries, inquiring, in case they desired revision, "in what respects and to what extent?" The rejoinders are naturally somewhat various, though there is a recognizable common centre at which relief is felt to be indispensable. In some way or other the Confession of the Church must proclaim the universality of the gospel, as grounded in the love of God, and revealed for the salvation of mankind. When Dr. Hall suggested an explanatory note to the chapter on "Decrees," Dr. Crosby replied, "The only objection I have to Dr. Hall's proposition is this: That it places the love of God in a foot-note." The whole question is there.

In September last we said: "The Confession is written from a particular point of view. The demand for revision requires that it be written from a very different point of view. This cannot be done by a little change of phraseology here and there, by an easy verbal omission or addition. In a word, the call for revision involves a conviction which requires for its satisfaction a new creed." We expressed, also, the opinion that the American Presbyterian Church was not so well prepared for this method of relief as the English, but added, "What discussion may accomplish we cannot say." If we interpret the signs aright, the movement for revision now points toward a new creed as the ultimate end. Those who look in this direction admit, rightly, we think, that considerable time is requisite before such a result can be reached, and some of them certainly desire to bring it about in concert with other branches of the Presbyterian Church, and possibly with a still larger circle of churches. Others are at present contenting themselves with the scheme of modifying the present Confession. The method of increased laxity of subscription, we are glad to notice, is not at all prominent, nor do we hear much at present of a declaratory act.

For two weeks, at public afternoon sessions held daily, except Saturdays and Sundays, the New York Presbytery has debated the questions of the nature and mode of relief. The discussion was in general admirable in tone and spirit, and highly creditable to the courage and theological sincerity of the Presbytery. At the eleventh session, held on Monday

of the third week, the Presbytery voted to ask that the chapter in the Confession which treats of "God's Eternal Decree," after the first section, should be "so recast as to include these things only: The sovereignty of God in election; the general love of God for all mankind; the salvation in Christ Jesus provided for all, and to be preached to every creature;" also, that the chapter on "Effectual Calling" "be so revised as not to appear to discriminate concerning infants dying in infancy, or so as to omit all reference to them (Section 3); and so as to preclude that explanation of Section 4 which makes it teach the damnation of all the heathen, or makes it deny that there are any elect heathen, who are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, and who endeavor to walk in penitence and humility, according to the measure of light which God has been pleased to grant them." A clause follows which affirms that there are changes in other parts of the Confession which are desirable, but the Presbytery abstains from asking for them.¹ An overture for a new creed was then adopted by a majority so large that a division was not called for. What is desired, it is explained, is "a short and simple creed, couched so far as may be in Scripture language, and containing all the essential and necessary articles of the Westminster Confession." It is not asked for "as a substitute for our Confession, but only to summarize and supplement it for the work of the church. . . . We want no new doctrines, but only a statement of the old doctrines made in the light and the spirit of our present activities, of our high privileges, and of our large obligations—a statement in which the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord shall be central and dominant." The result was a compromise between those who desired merely changes in the Confession and those who desired in addition or solely a new formula. The Presbytery decided for both—one method apparently for speedy relief; the other for a larger good. We shall be surprised if, in the end, the movement for a new creed does not absorb every other.

The Presbytery of Morris and Orange, New Jersey, after protracted deliberations, voted: "That instead of a revision of the text of the present Confession, the Presbytery expresses its preference for a new and shorter Confession of Faith, containing only the essential doctrines of the Presbyterian system of faith, and to which a harmonious subscription would be

¹ The vote on adoption of the Report containing these requests was 93 to 43. We are informed that "many voted 'No' because they wanted something more. Less than 40 are opposed to Revision. Probably not more than 30 would oppose Revision altogether." The *New York Evangelist* notices several "suggestive facts. One is the overwhelming preponderance of the elders who are in favor of revision. . . . Another . . . is, that the five graduates of Princeton Seminary who occupy prominent pulpits in this city, all voted for revision; and four out of the five Directors who represent the interest of New York in that Seminary voted on the same side." It adds: "The war-cries of fifty years ago will not rally the clans. We have passed into a new and a broader stage of our history as a church. There will not be any new division."

expected." It adds, that if the Westminster Confession is to be changed, a number of statements which it specifies should be revised. The list is somewhat longer than that of the New York Presbytery, and includes expressions pertaining to the Fall of Man, and his consequent inability. The Confession is found to lack "certain things . . . which it is most desirable that it should contain," — an adequate "declaration of God's infinite love to the world, and his full and free offer of salvation to all men through the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ ;" "a full and clear statement of the doctrines of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit ;" a "clear recognition of the great commission."

A committee of the Presbytery of Syracuse, of which Dr. George B. Spalding is chairman, has reported unanimously in favor of a response similar to that of the body just referred to. If the Confession is to be altered, they recommend that "no part of the Confession be wanting in the assertion or inference of God's love for all mankind, of salvation in Christ Jesus provided for all, and to be preached to every creature." The committee, however, deprecate any attempt to revise the Westminster Confession. They say that it "cannot well be altered in any of its parts," and give cogent reasons for this opinion, and add : —

"By the same law and right and obligation which these ancient worthies had, and claimed to have, to shape a creed which should express their belief and sense of need, so have we of this far-off generation the very same to give expression to the new phases of the old belief, to a new sense of altogether new duties, new oppositions, and new opportunities which confront us at the very opening of the twentieth century of our Christianity. With profound reverence for the Westminster Confession as a symbol of a mighty belief of a mighty time in the past, glorying in it, apologizing not one whit for it, we would simply let it be, and with not less reverent hands than those which reared that great structure, we of to-day would build a simpler Confession, a more catholic creed, a more missionary symbol of our Christian belief and duty."

We agree with this committee in believing that the working faith of the Church cannot to-day be suitably expressed by simply mending the Westminster Confession. Certainly, all attempts thus far made excite emotions of incongruity and inadequacy. Even the proposals of the New York Presbytery for amendment suggest the difficulty of applying a new patch to an old garment. They recommend the retention in the third chapter of the stately and impressive article respecting God's universal sovereignty, and its harmony with free agency, and propose to substitute, for all that follows, articles on "The sovereignty of God in election ; the general love of God for mankind," etc. But such phraseology is out of the old Calvinistic mint, and naturally suggests its doctrine of preterition. From what is the general love for mankind to be distinguished, and what is election, and what God's sovereignty in it? We are not criticising the action of the Presbytery, but pointing out the difficulty of revising a venerable Calvinistic symbol. If the old language — election, common as

distinct from special grace, sovereignty in election — is retained, the old ideas linger also, and preterition, though unnamed, is necessarily implied. On the other hand, if the traditional phraseology is abandoned in order to secure a perfectly clear expression of conceptions at variance with those of the men who wrote the Confession, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to avoid confusion and contradictions in the Confession. It is not wise, confessionally, to put new wine into old bottles.

Is not the subject of election one which it is preëminently desirable should be presented in a Creed from a distinctively religious rather than a predominantly logical point of view? The substance of the doctrine lies in the truths of the prevenience of grace, and its sole inspiring efficacy. Every mature Christian realizes that his life is from his Redeemer, and that it is Christ's apprehension of him which is primary and fundamental in his experience. He knows, too, that the fulfillment of the divine idea of his being must imply for him recovery from sin, and that whatever indispensable divine help comes to him for this end is necessarily of God's good pleasure, and is not the fulfillment of any divine obligation to him created by his own right disposition and good deeds. This antecedence of grace, this origin of spiritual life in God, and primary and indispensable direction of it by Him, is the immediate truth in election. What is beyond and more belongs to the general doctrine of divine sovereignty.

Here we touch at once the conception of a divine kingdom, having a central principle, an origin and development and end, related in every part. It is all one Purpose in the divine Mind, or sum of purposes, which, as Edwards recognized, is Christ. Election is too much treated apart from Him. If He is the Beginning and the End, and all and in all, then any ultimate distinction which exists in the divine counsel in respect to the elect and the non-elect is in Him, and according to his mind and will. It is impossible from this point of view to entertain the ordinary doctrine of preterition; certainly not that of the Westminster chapter. He who tasted death for every man has passed no man by; not those who passed Him by as He hung on his cross, and railed on Him, for whose forgiveness He prayed; not one of the uncounted millions of our race. He, as was said in the New York debate, — He, the Son of Man, is no priest nor Levite passing by on the other side, when there lies in need a brother man. If, as Scripture seems to indicate, there are those who will reject Him finally and utterly, it may well be that in his search for men He has expended upon them more of the recovering energy of his grace than upon any others. And such an issue would be not a defeat of his power, but a self-imposed and ethically necessary limitation of his will, and it carries with it a revelation of the highest good in the universe, a love whose purity is equal to its intensity, and its righteousness commensurate with its self-sacrificing benevolence. When Luther was sorely tried with the doctrine of Election, Staupitz said to him:

"Predestination is understood and found in the wounds of Christ, nowhere else." If there are elect, there are in the same sense non-elect. Sovereignty is universal; its self-imposed limitations are proofs and pledges of its divine authority and power; it stoops to conquer. It will conquer, but in its own way, according to its own character. Calvinism has in it the fundamental truth of all religion; it still needs modification, and always has been undergoing it; it is capable of development, for there is life in it, an undying life. It has over all other apprehensions of Christianity this imperishable advantage and renown, — it most thoroughly and effectively puts first what is first, and it rises on strongest wing to the height of inspiration, as it declares: "For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things: to whom be glory for ever." Those who talk of Calvinism as a thing of the past seem to us to see aright neither the past, nor the present, nor the future.

Yet it is a small thing to contend for a Calvinistic name; the one thing is to see that our Calvinism, if this be our religious inheritance, is "according to Christianity." The course of the debate in Presbyterian circles shows that again the doctrine of Decrees is to receive special attention. We are glad of it. The present humanitarian tendency of thought needs to be adjusted to, and grounded more deeply in, a distinctively religious one. The two should be conceived of as different aspects of one principle; they are distinguishable, but not separable.

We congratulate our Presbyterian brethren on their opportunity to revise the old Calvinism, to purify it by sacred Scripture, to adjust it to the demands of a life generated by the Spirit of God and consecrated to the work of making this world Christian. May they fully realize in their labor the deep significance of the motto we have taken from among the latest words of one of their own revered leaders: "What Reformed theology has got to do is to Christologize predestination and decrees." "Love," he added, on the same slip of paper, "is the deepest ground and last end of Redemption. A love which works through and by the law and justice of God, satisfying and not annulling them; and by such satisfaction meeting the ends of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Yet so that this love flows through and irradiates and organizes all its parts, and its open face to the whole human race is that of divine grace! redeeming love."

REV. JOSEPH HARDY NEESIMA, LL.D.

At this critical period in the history of Japan, when so many and such radical changes are taking place in her religious, social, and political institutions, and when she needs the highest wisdom and the most unselfish devotion of her best citizens, it is with especial regret that we record the recent death of Dr. Neesima. The sad intelligence reached Boston, January 27, and has already elicited from every quarter the warmest expressions of sympathy for his bereaved family and associates.

How widespread this interest in him had grown to be, we hardly realize. Not long since, a traveler in Silesia was invited to visit the country-seat of a Prussian nobleman, near the Polish border. Quite to his surprise, his hostess proved to be a friend of Mr. Neesima, at least in the sense that she knew the story of his life, and was praying for his success, — a representative, no doubt, of many others scattered through Europe, whose information, less definite than ours, perhaps, has yet been sufficient to bring them into that outer circle of friendship which contributes so much of valued support to the missionary as well as to the statesman.

Born in the year 1843, Mr. Neesima was ten years old when Commodore Perry's fleet first sailed up the Bay of Yedo, and sixteen when the trading settlement was established in Yokohama. He was old enough to be deeply stirred by the new thoughts which filled the minds of men, but young enough to weigh them candidly and fairly. At the age of twenty, he was well versed in Chinese literature, unusually so for one of his years, we understand, and more or less acquainted with the Dutch language, which was even then an important medium of communication with the foreigners pressing into the open ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate.

By means of missionary tracts in the Chinese language, he learned of the Bible and the claims of Christianity. His appetite for Christian literature was only whetted by the prohibitions of the government, and, like many another of his countrymen, he surreptitiously procured a few Christian books, which the Japanese booksellers, even in those dark days, knew how to provide for their customers. The story of his flight to Hakodate, thence to Shanghai in an American vessel, of his joining there the *Wild Rover*, another American vessel, as captain's boy, and of his passage, after one or two trading voyages, to Boston, need not be dwelt upon here. It was in some respects a hard experience, and it is a wonder that it did not embitter his life. It seems, however, to have served rather as a foil to set off the more brightly the kindness of the captain of the *Wild Rover*, who treated him as a friend, and especially the generous hospitality and truly parental care with which the late Hon. Alpheus Hardy and Mrs. Hardy watched over him. Their interest in Japan was not a new thing; and while their *quasi* adoption of the young stranger was not premeditated, it was the natural outcome of thoughts which had been for many years working in their minds.

His life at Phillips Academy, Andover, at Amherst College, and Andover Seminary was one of almost unbroken happiness. He found friends everywhere, and the memory of those days of successful study and delightful social intercourse was always fresh with him. No man ever enjoyed his friends more than Mr. Neesima; none felt their loss more keenly when they were called away.

He lived in America, as it were, under sentence of death. He could not return to Japan, for death was in those days the penalty for emigra-

tion. It was thus a happy day for him when, in the year 1871, a pardon was received from the Japanese authorities, and he was ordered to join the Imperial Embassy in the capacity of interpreter. He was brought into the closest relations with Mr. Tanaka, a member of the embassy, who was commissioned to inspect the school systems of Europe and America, and who was for several years thereafter the head of the department of education. He traveled with the embassy in England, Scotland, France, and Germany, adding daily to his knowledge of men and to the number of his friends. He subsequently returned to Andover.

Having completed his theological studies there, he was ordained in the Mount Vernon Church, Boston, September 24, 1874.¹ He had by this time decided upon the main purpose of his life. That purpose was to build up a college in Japan which should do for his young countrymen what Amherst had done for him. The strength of his resolution was revealed on the platform at Rutland, when without consultation he made his first appeal for aid. The sum raised, though small (about \$3,500), was sufficient to insure an interest in the undertaking on the part of the Prudential Committee of the American Board. He returned to Japan in the following November.

It was early decided that the college should be opened in Kyoto. There was an almost unanimous agreement that the college must be made independent of the extra-territorial provisions of the existing treaties, a decision most abundantly justified by the course of events, though for several years there seemed to be great reason to regret it. There was much tedious delay, but at last a beginning was made with eight scholars and two teachers. The prefect of the city, though professedly a friend, was the bitter enemy of the enterprise, and left no stone unturned to prevent its success. It was here that the friendships formed while connected with the embassy were turned to good account. The influence of the prefect was not strong enough to overshadow the memory of Mr. Neesima and his faithful service. The school grew, slowly at first, but still it grew, in spite of the untiring opposition of its enemies. The very sacrifices which he underwent in its behalf strengthened the hold of the school upon Mr. Neesima. It became a part of his very being. The students soon caught the enthusiasm of their president. He loved them almost as a parent loves his children, and they looked up to him with a feeling akin to veneration. As the school grew and its scope increased, Mr. Neesima was able to give little time to teaching. Even the business of administration came to be too severe a strain upon him. At first there was only the nucleus of a college, then a theological seminary, then a girls' school; later on a preparatory department for the college, and later still a training school for nurses, with nearly a thousand students altogether.

¹ Mr. Neesima was received December 30, 1866, by baptism and on confession of faith, into the Seminary Church, Andover. He was then a student in Phillips Academy.

Meanwhile Mr. Neesima and his associates became interested in a scheme for bringing this group of schools into closer correspondence with the educational system established by the government, with the view of establishing a Christian university. Japanese friends of the enterprise, including two cabinet ministers and many other men of prominence in public and private life, subscribed the sum of yen¹ 60,000. An American gentleman has given \$25,000 for land, buildings, and apparatus, and \$75,000 towards the permanent endowment of the prospective science department. Apart from these institutions, there are not less than four or five academies of excellent grade closely affiliated with them, whose very existence is in large degree owing to the work which Mr. Neesima accomplished. It is true he did not work alone; he was supported by Japanese fellow-workers of rare ability; the foreign staff, selected with much care, has, we believe, never failed to coöperate most heartily with him. All these have contributed their full share, no doubt, to the present success, but yet Mr. Neesima, so far as human eyes can see, was the one essential man connected with this movement, so full of promise for Japan.

Mr. Neesima's zeal for education did not lead him to undervalue direct evangelistic effort. His personal influence was one of the most potent factors in the earnest religious life of the school. His sermons to the students were always impressive. Like the best sermons everywhere, they were the expression of the preacher's own character. It is related that during the famous Satsuma rebellion, which taxed the resources of the government to its utmost, a high-spirited man, of large influence, set out from his home in one of the central provinces to join the rebels. As he passed through Osaka, he chanced to hear Mr. Neesima preach on the Love of God, a favorite topic with him. He did not listen long before his zeal for the rebellion gave way, and he returned home to work for Christianity. In Annaka, the home of his father, he was the means of starting one of the most remarkable evangelistic movements which Japan has seen.

It is a satisfaction to know that the aged father and mother were fully reconciled to their son's adoption of the strange and much dreaded religion, and not merely reconciled, but that they also accepted it with hearty faith and joy.

His relations with his associates, both Japanese and foreign, were always marked with the most delicate consideration of their rights and wishes. For their sakes, he was ready to forego much which he himself desired, but he always held tenaciously to the main line he had laid down for himself, in spite of the greatest discouragements. In a way quite consonant with his extreme modesty, he appears to have been impressed as Moses was with the signs of the guiding hand of the good Providence

¹ The Japanese yen is the equivalent of the Mexican dollar. At the present rate of exchange, it is worth about seventy-seven cents, United States coin.

which led him step by step through his career. Devotion to duty — a marked characteristic — took with him the form of an Abrahamic following of providential leading.

We are not able yet to measure the work he has done for Japan. Even those nearest to him confess their inability to appreciate the difficulties he met and overcame. His life was one to be grateful for, and his work will remain.

Is there not in his lamented death a call to his friends in America and Japan to increased effort in behalf of the enterprise which he loved better than life, that the university he planned, and whose foundation he has so well laid, may stand, a lasting monument to his enlightened Christian patriotism?

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES.

VII. MADAGASCAR.

SINCE our last report from this great African island, just after the aggressions of France had resulted in an involuntary consent on the part of Queen Ranavàlona III., that the French should have entire control of the foreign relations of Madagascar, the religious interests of the island appear to have settled into a certain stagnation. This, however, we should judge to have little or no connection with political changes. The French, in order to secure their supremacy over the foreign relations of the Hova kingdom, have fully conceded what they had previously denied, the right of Queen Ranavàlona to paramount sovereignty throughout the island. So far as we can discover from the reports of the London missionaries (who, it is true, have now to be very cautious in their political allusions), France appears to have been as good as her word, and to have interfered little or not at all with interior administration.

We must recall a little of the geography and ethnography of the island, in its 970 miles of length and 300 of breadth, and a little of its history, in order to give a distincter view of the present condition of Christianity there. It will be remembered that it consists of great stretches of alluvial and malarial plains around the circumference, of a belt of deep aboriginal forest covering the rising slopes of the midland, and of the great interior table, rising to the height of 4000 feet (with various peaks as high again) and occupied by the ruling tribe of the Hovas. These appear to have made their way from Eastern Polynesia about the time of the Norman Conquest, and, finding a population akin to themselves, but less vigorous, to have established themselves in the great interior citadel, from which they are more and more extending their authority throughout Madagascar. The western tribes, the Sàkalàva, who have the least of Polynesian and the most of African blood, and who pay the least regard to the Hova claims of sovereignty, are the most thoroughly and obstinately heathen. But wherever the effective authority of Queen Ranavàlona extends, avowed idolatry is prohibited,

and has, indeed, for the most part been spontaneously abandoned, although a large part of those who have forsaken its public practice remain essentially heathen. This slight veneering of Christian monotheism extends over something more than half the population of the island, including the tribes of the interior, the eastern and northeastern coast, and something of the south. Effective Christianity, expressed in church organization, is principally found among the sovereign tribe of the Hovas, and next to them among the Betsilèos, their near kinsmen and neighbors, occupying the southern part of the great plateau, and sloping down toward the southern plains. The great people of the Bètsimisaraka, who occupy a very large proportion of the coast plains of the east, are passively amenable to Christian teaching, and to the establishment of schools, as being commended to them by their Hova rulers, but do not appear to have any deep interest in either on its own account.

Among the Hovas themselves the history of the church appears to have gone through three stages, and now to have entered upon the fourth. The first was when, under the vicious and heathen but civilizing king, Radama I., the elder missionaries gathered a few hundred converts around them, whom Radama neither molested nor encouraged. The second period comprised the thirty years taken up by the reign of his usurping and murderous widow, Ranavàlona I., who extirpated her husband's family, drove out the missionaries, and bitterly persecuted the converts. When the persecution ceased at her death, it was found that the few hundred Christians had multiplied to some 37,000. The third stage (passing over a time of transition) lasted until lately, when, under the reign of two Christian queens, succeeding a tolerant heathen queen, thousands, as in the time of Constantine, demanded and received baptism under the impulse proceeding from the palace. This impulse, which the missionaries, as English Congregationalists, have always regarded with misgiving, seems in a great measure to have spent itself, and the influx into the churches to have come to a stay. The present period, the fourth, the missionaries appear to regard as destined to be the period of purification, of a measurable separation of the nominal Christians from the living nucleus, and therefore of apparent shrinkage. The system of schools has been taken under the conduct of the government, but as the missionaries have unrestricted access to them, and virtual control, they hope through them to ground the gospel more thoroughly, and in the forms of a more enlightened morality, in the hearts of the next generation, than those in which it is exemplified in the lives of the present. Absolutism and slavery still remain as perplexing and poisonous forces.

The embarrassments induced by the utter unscrupulousness of the Roman Catholic missionaries in their vilification of the methods, motives, and aims of the English missionaries, are to be borne with as a matter of course, like the pestilential poison of the tropical fever. They are equally ready as Frenchmen and as Papists to work mischief where they can for English Protestants, especially in a country of which their government is suzerain. However admirable they may be within their own range, they have always been taught to regard English nonconformists as a pestiferous race, that are hardly within the pale of either justice or charity. The English High Churchmen, also, have intruded needlessly, though not calumniously. However, they have coöperated with the Congregationalists in Bible translation, and in the promotion of temperance and other moral interests. The Friends are helpers, and only

helpers. But we are sorry to say that the Norwegian Lutherans do not seem always to have shown that cordiality to their predecessors, or that care, in the wide regions of the island, to find distinct fields of labor, that might have been desired. This confusion of influences seems to be at its height in the Betsiléo province.

We give various extracts from the "Chronicle" of the London Missionary Society for the last two years.

The ready reception given by the Hovas to the gospel is in part explained by a citation in the "Chronicle" of January, 1888, from the Rev. W. E. Cousins, to the effect that through the debasing cloud of their gross superstitions the Hovas still retain traces of an original theism.—The following, from Rev. J. A. Houlder, shows that the Hovas are as yet decidedly lacking in that missionary zeal which guarantees the extension of the gospel throughout the island. "We have had a mission established in Tamatave for several years. Things are very different, however, from what they are in the centre of the island, where circumstances have been favorable to the spread of Christianity, and where steady progress has been continuously made. Neither churches nor schools are in anything like so flourishing a condition. The Betsimisàraka care little for the religion of their Hova conquerors, whilst not a few of these seem to think that what is good for them in Imèrina is, to say the least, not requisite on the coast. Still something is being done for both Hova and Betsimisàraka, — highlander and lowlander, — and therein we cannot but rejoice. All along the coast small congregations are gathered, and a number of children are being partially taught." In the port of Tamatave itself, the gate of the country, "rum and godless foreign influence make Christian work very difficult. Then there is the heathen element. Why, only the other day the Hindus in the place carried their peacock god in procession through the streets to the sound of a band of music, and preceded by numerous torch-bearers and burners of brilliant-colored fire. That, I suppose, will now be repeated yearly until the Hindus are either won to Christ or prohibited from a public exhibition of their heathen practices." The editors say: "The French in the Capital have started a newspaper, called *Le Progrès de l'Imerina*, a specimen of which has reached us. We regret to say that it is disfigured by abusive language respecting everything British in general, and respecting British missionaries in particular."

The Rev. P. Rowlands has been since 1879 in charge of the southern mission, and has seen the number of stations and schools increasing from eighteen to sixty. "Teachers and evangelists have been trained; the district has been organized and consolidated; Bible-classes have been regularly conducted in all parts of it, at which the Word of God has been expounded and brought home to those who attend; psalmody and homiletics have been extensively taught; scores of people have, from time to time, been added to the church; and, not the least blessing, . . . scores have been separated from church fellowship."

Miss Cockin, at a meeting in England, gives a very distinct picture of the workings of the gospel among a people in a very rude social state. She remarked that much less interest was manifested in the work in Madagascar, owing to the fact that no visitors pass through the country to witness what is going on there, as they so frequently do in India and China. She could, however, say that Christianity has had great influence in the island over the governors, who show more mercy in the car-

rying out of the laws than in former times; while also the great enmity between the Betsileo and the Hova classes is gradually subsiding. Civilization is still very backward, the furniture in many houses being little more than a mat, a water-pot, a cooking-pot, and a basket for the wardrobe of the family. The fireplaces are without chimneys, so that the smoke has to escape by the door and window. The missionaries have induced some of the people to have tables, chairs, and bedsteads. The children are quick and easily pick up what is taught them, delighting most in the hymns, which they sing together for an hour or so before the service commences, and so attract outsiders to enter and see what is going on. The reverence with which the missionary is regarded is so great that Miss Cockin, in closing, begged the friends in England to pray that she might be kept humble in the Master's service.

The rude living of the Malagasy is just about what that of the English peasantry is described as having been only three hundred and fifty years ago. The mention of the national fondness for singing hymns reminds us that, when the thirty years of persecution ceased at the death of Ranavalona I., the long-repressed devotional feelings of the Christians, for months together, found scarcely any other channel of expression than in meetings for praise. The missionaries had to wait, with a certain discontentment, until the accumulated flood of religious feeling had in a measure spent itself, before they could do much for more practical ends. And, indeed, a year or two of simple devotional enjoyment could hardly be grudged to the Church of the Catacombs, rising again beyond the equator. The favorite hymns of the present generation are the Sankey collection. As one of the missionaries says, there is "a ring" about them which engages the people, and they are the better suited to them in that they are of a light and easy burden of thought and experience.

The number of scholars in the Protestant elementary schools was, in 1863, 365; in 1868, 1,735; in 1870, 15,837; in 1875, 36,534; in 1880, 43,904; and in 1886, 102,747. All these are under the charge of the London Missionary Society missionaries, except 14,355 under the charge of the Friends, "whose missionaries coöperate heartily with us, and are scarcely distinguished from us by the natives."

"On Wednesday, March 28, 1888, a very large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Memorial Church at Ampàmarinana, Antanànarivo, to celebrate the fourteenth anniversary of the opening of the church, and the thirty-ninth anniversary of the event which the church was built to keep in lasting remembrance. On the 28th of March, 1849, eighteen Malagasy Christians suffered death for their love to Christ—four of them by being burnt alive at Fàravòhitra, and fourteen by being hurled from the summit of the precipices on which the Ampàmarinana church is built; and it was thought that this double event should be kept in memory by a special service, so that the Christians of the present day, and especially the younger people, might know what their fathers had suffered for the religious liberty they now enjoy. The building was crowded to excess, and deep interest was manifested during the whole of the three or four hours' service. Many of the old Christian men and women, including relatives of the martyrs, occupied a prominent position on the communion platform, and some took part in the service by reading and offering prayer. All the hymns sung were those contained in the old hymn-book, many of them being those which were hallowed by sacred associations with the death and sufferings of those who laid down their lives for the gospel."

Bunyan's "Holy War" has just been published in Malagasy. The "Pilgrim's Progress" has always been a great favorite in Madagascar, and was a great comfort to the martyrs. When some of them were led forth to execution, they said to one another: "Now are we like Christian and Faithful," encouraging each other to steadfastness by the remembrance of this concentrated type of martyrdom. — It seems that there is a tribe called the Bara, occupying the centre of the island south of Bètsilèo, who are still so pugnaciously heathen that they will not even allow missionaries to stay among them, and the great Sakalava tribe of the west are almost as obdurate, though not quite so intolerant, as the Bètsilèo churches do succeed in maintaining some evangelists among them. The Hova sovereignty must be more thoroughly consolidated in the east before the fierce tribes of the west and the interior south are likely to pay much attention to the Hova religion.

The Rev. H. E. Johnson, of Bètsilèo, says: "There are lights, and there are shadows, too, in our missionary work. The sale of intoxicating liquors, brought into the country by traders, is, we are sorry to say, on the increase. And not only in Fianàrantsà, but also in the country markets in Bètsilèo, we see almost on every hand that this soul-destroying traffic is apparently making headway. We are having pledge cards printed in Antanànarivo at our mission press for the Bands of Hope, which we are organizing, not only in Fianàrantsà, but also in some of our country stations. We trust, too, that we shall soon have an adult total abstinence society as a distinct branch of our missionary work."

At the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society for 1889, the Rev. W. E. Cousins "expressed thankfulness to God that the Madagascar Mission still exists, notwithstanding the fears expressed by some that the late war with France would abolish Christian work. Thus far, the missionaries had suffered no hindrance in their labors, and were now working with more energy and with more diversified agencies than in the past. It had been said that their work had grown so prosaic that the story told by one missionary was like all the rest. He acknowledged that it was so, because the body of the people were placed under the missionaries' care, and they had to do the prosaic work of endeavoring to instruct, encourage, and guide the young native churches. But to himself it was not altogether prosaic, for it was lighted up by the noble story of the past. The missionaries had the care of 1,200 churches, with many of which Sunday-schools were connected. They were training those who they believed would in turn become missionaries and evangelists to their still heathen countrymen.

In our former report on Madagascar we described the inauguration of Queen Ranavàlona III., and cited the expressions of Christian faith and purpose with which she commenced her reign seven years ago. We notice one or two references to her in the "Chronicle" of the last two years. One was a congratulatory message from her to the people of Ambohibeloma, a Hova town, on occasion of the dedication of a new church. It was, "after the congratulatory clauses, an appeal to the people to be diligent in praying, not for her sake or for fear of her, since she, like them, was a sinner seeking salvation, but because it was for their highest good that they should be diligent in the service of God."

On this same occasion some interesting incidents of the persecution were recounted by the native pastor, J. Andrianaivoravelona, who is called the Malagasy Spurgeon. His musical but somewhat alarmingly

protracted patronymic, bearing witness to the ample leisure enjoyed in Madagascar, is commonly, even for her, abbreviated to Andrianivo. "He said that at the time of the persecution he was a mere youth, but he was also a Christian, and also knew something about music. The then commander-in-chief of the Malagasy army was anxious that his brass band should be taught some European tunes, and asked Andrianivo to teach them, which he was only too glad to do. He not only taught them tunes but the gospel also, and the result was that nearly every one of the band became a Christian." The commander-in-chief, though not a Christian, was well content, and even concealed the Christian books in his own house, where the officers of the persecuting queen never dreamed of looking for them.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

NOTES FROM ENGLAND.

It is now possible to look back on the work of the year 1889. Though as yet its exact value remains unknown, there can be no doubt that it has been a year of social progress. This may be seen in many ways, notably in the passing of an act of Parliament, which, though not of the first rank in political importance, is a sign of the times. The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, which has just come into force in this country, has already dealt a blow at a class of crime which has often been left untouched by justice. The terrible sufferings sometimes borne by the children of the criminal class, and even by children of a higher social grade, have been exposed by a Congregational minister, the Rev. Benjamin Waugh. It has been through his writings and philanthropic efforts, extended over many years, that a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has been carrying on with great success a crusade against the cruel and unnatural treatment of children: it is Mr. Waugh's work that has really placed this new law in our statute book. The law deals sternly with all offenses against children, extends the previously enacted provisions against the employment of children in the streets to sell articles and to perform in public entertainments, and has introduced two new principles: it enables a man to be examined as a witness against his wife, or a woman against her husband, in charges of cruelty to their child, and it enables the magistrate or judge to increase the penalty, when the conviction is for cruelty to a child whose life is insured. Many of our statutes, passed with the best intentions, are from the first dead letters; and this has been especially frequent with so-called "philanthropic legislation." But this act no sooner became law than it was enforced in a great number of cases, and it will no doubt help to cure one of the greatest evils in the life of the brutalized substratum of our society.

Another very useful piece of legislation recently passed, and showing that the condition of the people at large is more and more becoming the object of government concern, is a law for compulsory notification of infectious diseases. Any case of a dangerously infectious disease must now be immediately reported to the medical officer of health in the district in which it occurs; a penalty is provided for neglect of duty, and a small

fee is given to the medical man for every case which he reports at once. It is believed that this law will not only furnish a complete record of certain diseases throughout the whole country, but it will enable local authorities to find out the unhealthy portions of their townships, and to lay their finger on the unsanitary blocks and dwellings, which they will have to improve.

Quite recently, the "Times" newspaper, which is more ready to record than to recognize the growth of public opinion, declared that within the past year no movement has gained so much in the public mind as the desire for sanitation. It has for years been a recognized principle of our law that the dwellings of the people are so far a matter of national concern that local authorities have been intrusted with powers for enforcing in every home the conditions necessary to decency and health. But these powers have been rather permissive than obligatory; until recently, our system of local government has been (and indeed it still is) very imperfect; local authorities are elected on entirely different systems in London, in our large towns, and in rural districts; there is great confusion and uncertainty in the numerous laws, which have been intended to apply to very variously constituted bodies. These facts have been mainly responsible for the scandal of a country, whose laws recognized that life in unsanitary conditions is a public offense, still allowing thousands of its people to live in unhealthy homes. Recently, however, many convictions have been obtained in our courts, some fining landlords for not keeping their houses in proper condition, others ordering the closing of premises declared unfit for human habitation. These cases have been mostly in London, and are due partly to the action of private philanthropists, who have appealed successfully to legal powers which have hitherto never been used, but more largely to the action of the local authorities, who have been roused from their inactive torpor by the public interest which recent changes in the local government system of the country have attracted to them. These events and proposals, which are soon to be laid before Parliament for extending the powers of the so-called "sanitary authorities," and for providing houses for the working classes under the public management, show that it is now a recognized duty of government to guarantee to every citizen not only light and air, but a house which will be healthy, and a life free from all possible risk of disease.

The "Labor Movements," of which one now hears so much, seem likely to be overshadowed or absorbed by one great labor movement in favor of an act of Parliament which shall embody the principle of a working day of eight hours for the workman. State regulation of the hours of labor has long been familiar to us through the Factory Acts. Some years ago, the great annual conference of the Liberal Party declared in favor of an extension of the Factory Acts, and there is no doubt but that the powers of the state will be soon invoked in some form or other, in order to assist the natural desire of the workmen for shorter hours. A committee of the House of Lords has been engaged in an inquiry into the "Sweating System," or the exploitation of labor by middlemen in such conditions as to be free from inspection and control under the Factory Acts. Its chairman, a conservative Peer, has become a convert to the principle of an "eight hours' working day all round," and his views are shared by that popular but not very influential political free-lance, Lord Randolph Churchill. Magazine articles, correspond-

ence, and controversies in the press have helped to force the question on the notice of politicians. A bill will be introduced into Parliament, which, if passed into law, will empower localities to decree by a popular vote whether or not the average working day shall be of eight hours only. If this question has not yet become a burning problem of the day, it promises to be a problem of the near future.

The reunion of different bodies of Christians seems likely to be realized soon, at least in one or two cases. For some years, the various sections of the Methodist Church have had the need of their reunion and amalgamation constantly advocated by the most liberal and most influential of the Methodist papers, the "Methodist Times." The result is that two of the Methodist bodies, the New Connexion and United Methodist Free Church, are arranging to join hands and become one body. More important still, the Disestablishment movement in Scotland has had the result of starting a most important discussion as to the future relations of the three Presbyterian churches—the Established Church, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church. On the one hand, some of those who oppose disestablishment are seeking to prevent the inevitable, by suggesting that the three Presbyterian churches should share the state endowments now enjoyed by the Established Church alone. On the other hand, it is contended that this is no solution of the real difficulty, as the national property which is now enjoyed by the Established Church would still be employed for the good of a part of the people only. The eagerness and the tone in which the subject is being discussed in Scotland show that whatever be the actual outcome, there is a strong current of feeling in favor of Presbyterian Reunion. No one can doubt that it is only a matter of time when the three Presbyterian communions, one in doctrine, in form of worship, and in tradition, shall become again a greater and more united Presbyterian Church than Scotland has ever yet seen. In England, unfortunately, though one hears something of "*theological reunion*" of Churchmen and Congregationalists (see "Andover Review," January, 1890, p. 69, ff.), *ecclesiastical* reunion seems farther off than ever. This is partly due to the extreme reactionary aims of a section of the Church of England in touching the question of Popular Education. At Salisbury and at York a voluntary Association of extreme ritualistic tendency has been allowed to supply needed school accommodation, though a very large number of the people whose children will have to attend these schools object on religious grounds to the principles and practices of the schools to which their children must go. The intensely strong feeling aroused not only in these cities by this state of things, but through these cases having become notorious in the country at large, is bad alike for the progress of Popular Education and for the cause of religious reunion. The same result is produced by the extremely advanced ritualistic practices of the so-called Catholic party in the Church of England. Services are often conducted, and "mass" is often celebrated, with a ritual for which the forms used by the Roman Catholic Church are admitted to afford the only model and precedent; and in churches to which the ecclesiastical law does not extend, practices are used which are allowed to be illegal in a consecrated Parish church. The growing boldness in Catholic ritual is of course always accompanied by an increase of dogmatic assertion and of authoritative sacerdotal claims. It is thus that the Anglican Church seems to be making reac-

tion against the better spirit of the age, which in the case of most other religious bodies is passing from toleration to sympathy, and cultivating, instead of the jealousy of divisions, the earnest energy of comprehension.

Joseph King.

HAMPSTEAD, LONDON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.¹

THE CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF IMMANUEL KANT. By EDWARD CAIRD, LL. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Two volumes. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons (Macmillan & Co., N. Y.). 1889.

Dr. Caird's former book on Kant has been out of print for some years, and it was understood that its author was preparing a more extended work. The first treatise, it will be recalled, covered only the Critique of Pure Reason. The implied promise has been most amply redeemed. We have now a report upon all of Kant's work, the minor writings as well as the three main Critiques, even the former exposition being entirely rewritten. The reviewer who would undertake to give anything approaching a fair account of these thirteen hundred compact although clear octavo pages must be either wiser than the present reviewer is, or more ignorant than he would be willing to confess himself. Yet there are some things which at least may be said *about* these volumes, — some things upon which there would be no difference of opinion among those competent to judge. All would admit that Professor Caird has written the book upon Kant in the English language, — most would add, in any language. About the thoroughness, the accuracy, the clearness of the exposition, there could hardly be two opinions. Concerning the maturity, the lucidity, the deftness, the firm-handling of the critical portion, I do not see how judgments could vary. That Dr. Caird has made what is, as to substance, a contribution to the history of thought of the very first order, and that in form his volumes have a unity, a massiveness, and a simplicity of treatment which marks them as a work of art, must be the verdict. All this, whatever philosophic standpoint the critic may himself occupy. The opinion of the absolute philosophic value of the work will of course depend upon the extent to which the critic shares the view of philosophic method and results embodied in it. To pretend in a short notice upon such a point to do more than express one's own conviction is sheer dogmatism. I can only say, then, that for myself I believe these volumes to be the richest and wisest outcome yet published of the philosophic Renaissance now in progress in Great Britain. And I do not know who will transcend them until Professor Caird himself shall do it. Were I asked not only for the best English account of the Kantian philosophy, but for the best account of philosophy itself in the English language, I should point without hesitation to Caird's "Critical Philosophy of Kant." But this judgment depends, as I said before,

¹ In accordance with the announcement of the Review for 1890, the department of Book Reviews and Notices is enlarged in this third number by sixteen pages.

upon the critic's own philosophic position. That the work marks an epoch in the English treatment of the history of philosophy depends upon no position.

Only a few words may be said, to give the reader an idea of the method of Professor Caird in these volumes. After an extremely suggestive chapter upon "The Idea of Criticism," we have almost two hundred pages given to an account of Kant's life and relation to his times; his connection with his precursors from Descartes (this part is not quite so full as in Professor Caird's former book); and then what the Germans call an *Entwicklungsgeschichte* of Kant up to the point of his undertaking of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. In this portion, the author has not only utilized the very numerous and detailed researches of German writers, but has materially added to them. Then follows an exposition of all Kant's critical writings, following approximately a chronological order. The account of the "Critique of Pure Reason" opens with a condensed and clear outline of the whole,—of its problem and the solution. From this point on, Dr. Caird's method is uniform. He first sets forth, in a way at once so accurate and so clear as to be the despair of the average reader who has struggled with Kant's tortuosities, Kant's own doctrine. Kant becomes fairly transparent in the lucidity of Caird's treatment, not, however, at the expense of any minimizing of difficulties.

Then follows the criticism. If the exposition is so admirable, what words remain with which to characterize the criticism? It is wholly an immanent criticism. We are shown whence Kant started; we are shown the nature and requirements of Kant's own method in dealing with the subject-matter; we are shown how far Kant goes in the reconstruction of the views from which he sets out; and we are shown how much further he should have gone in order to be true to his own principle. The great, the permanent value of Caird's work is to me the fact that he sets up no external standard by which to try Kant, but that he so develops Kant as to make him pass judgment upon himself. Here we have the Kant held back and hampered by prepossessions inherited from previous dualisms, set over against the Kant freed from his bonds and developed into consistency and integrity. In this way the book becomes, in effect, a summary of the entire Kanto-Hegelian movement, and, in addition, a statement of constructive philosophic results.

To summarize this re-creation of Kant is an impossibility,—the summary is the book itself. Professor Caird's philosophic position may, perhaps, be indicated, if I say that he has absorbed all the results of such criticism as that of Thomas Hill Green, but that he has a positive, constructive touch which in finals seems to have been denied Green. The great Oxford thinker seems never to have quite freed himself from the negative element in Kant,—the idea that the regress from the world to self is an abstracting process, resulting in the notion of a spirit, *for* which indeed reality exists, but of which in itself nothing may be said. It may be roughly laid down as the purpose of Caird's work to show that, according to Kant's own principles, the movement from the world to mind, and from both to God, is a movement from the partial to the complete, from the abstract to the concrete, in which the lower becomes a factor in the spiritual process of the higher. The carrying-out of the purpose, not merely as a general principle, but in the treatment of all specific philosophic questions, is the heart of these two volumes. Dr. Caird shows that Kant reconstructed the previous dualism, that of mind set

over against the world, so far as to show that all existence is existence *for* a self, for mind, but that, still in the toils of the very dualism which he was overthrowing, he denied that anything could be known of this self as such. Since, too, the known world is known only in relation to a self which is only logical, not real, that world was to Kant only phenomenal. The world of reality is shut off from intelligence. But Caird shows that the inevitable outcome of Kant is that existence is not only a phenomenon *for* self, but a phenomenon *of* self, — an element in the spiritual process of God. The result on the side of knowledge is to show that, since nature is only a factor in the self-determination of spirit, a solution of the most pressing of contemporary problems is possible. The categories of physical science can be reconciled with the principles of the moral and religious life by being taken up into them. Nature must, in Caird's words, take a new aspect, if it be conceived as standing in a necessary relation to spirit; "not only must we deny that the explanation which seems to be sufficient for matter is sufficient for life and mind, but, since matter is necessarily related to mind, we must deny that the explanation in question is sufficient even for matter. We must 'level up' and not 'level down'; we must not only deny that matter can explain spirit, but we must say that even matter itself cannot be fully understood except as an element in a spiritual world."

The same imperfect overcoming of the dualism between mind and the world, which is at the basis of Kant's unsatisfactory position as regards knowledge, affects also Kant's æsthetic, ethical, and religious position. In respect to the latter question, Caird shows clearly how the separation of the self from reality leads to Kant's conception of the moral law and of freedom as merely formal; to his conception of the moral ideal as something which merely *ought* to be, but is not; to his separation, in the name of freedom, of one individual from another; to his conception of society as essentially only an external collection of individuals; and to his denial of the possibility of any objective moral mediation. As a summary of Caird's idea of the relation of the moral will to nature, to humanity, and to God, the following quotation must serve: "Nature can be a means to the realization of our life, only in so far as in spirit nature comes to *a* self and to *its* self; that is, in so far as spirit reveals what nature implicitly contained. And other spiritual beings can be a means to the realization of our individual life, only in so far as our individual life itself becomes a means to the realization of a principle which is identical in them and in us. We cannot live except as we die to live; and the culmination of the effort after the realization of our own Will and our own Good must be the consciousness that *Deo parere libertas est*, and that all things 'can be ours' only as 'we are God's.'" So far, then, is freedom from being, as Kant conceives it, an assertion of the individual's will in his isolation, that "the *truth* of freedom lies in the unity of the self with the principle that is realizing itself in all nature and history. Behind the freedom that breaks the bonds of nature and necessity, we find a divine necessity in union with which alone man can be truly free. But, just because it is a divine necessity, it cannot really be an external necessity." With the impression derived from these words, we may fairly leave these volumes, hoping that we may have said enough of them to induce every philosophic-minded reader to turn to them himself.

John Dewey.

KANT'S CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY FOR ENGLISH READERS, by MAHAFFY and BERNARD. Vol. I., *The Kritik of the Pure Reason* explained and defended; Vol. II., *The Prolegomena*, translated with Notes and Appendices. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

In connection with Caird's book, it is worth while to direct attention to Mahaffy and Bernard's edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* and of the *Prolegomena*. Mahaffy's books, almost a score of years ago, were practically the first to direct the attention of the English-speaking public to Kant as he really was. Mansel and Hamilton had indeed presented a Kant of whom the less said the better. Mahaffy, however, left his work in an incomplete form; with the aid of Mr. Bernard it has now been happily completed, and reprinted in a more convenient and accessible form. The *Prolegomena* does not appear to have been much changed from the first edition; the *Critique*, with its omissions and additions, is practically a new work. The *Prolegomena* is a translation; the *Critique* a paraphrase and condensation, with occasional explanatory and critical remarks, which are, however, carefully distinguished from the exposition. The plan of the work is such and its carrying-out so careful and accurate that it fills a position not occupied by any other of the numerous Kant expositions. The writer speaks from personal experience in saying that it is a most admirable book with which to introduce advanced undergraduates in our colleges to Kant. The exposition of the *Transcendental Deduction* is hardly up to the level of the rest of the book. And one feels occasionally as if the authors, in their condensations, had omitted the nub of the matter; but, on the whole, the book is a judicious and accurate rendering of Kant's thought into a form more valuable for the ordinary student than that supplied by a translation. One who has been through this book will be admirably prepared to take up his Caird.

John Dewey.

THE REDEMPTION OF MAN. Discussions bearing on the Atonement. By D. W. SIMON, Ph. D., Professor of Theology in the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh. Pp. xvi, 440. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

This book is occupied with criticisms of various theories of atonement, the indication of certain elements involved in atonement, and the suggestion of a theory of atonement as producing a change in the relation of God to men.

Among the theories repudiated is that of satisfaction rendered to an eternal law, "having an objective existence independent both of God and the creature, a law to which God and the creature are alike subject, what is often called the eternal law of righteousness."

Akin to this and therefore to be rejected is the theory that atonement pays a debt due to justice, — a theory which distinguishes God's judicial from his personal relation to men, and which maintains that the obstacles to forgiveness are not personal resentment or unwillingness to show mercy, but his aversion to sin as the supreme Lawgiver and righteous Judge. Dr. Simon maintains that law and justice cannot be considered as abstractions apart from the personal relation of God to men, and that what is due to God is not the condemnation of sinners, which is an eternal loss to God, but their restoration to sonship.

The most searching criticism is directed against the governmental theory, which, in the judgment of the author, is to be classed among

moral influence theories. The object of atonement, according to the governmental theory, was to exhibit certain things to men, or impress them on men, such as the ill desert of sin and the holiness of God, so that God's law and government might be honored; while so far as God himself is concerned there is no obstacle, and He might forgive and redeem without an atonement. The atonement, therefore, according to the governmental theory, was intended to produce an effect on sinners. The advocates of that theory might object to this criticism, as not recognizing the influence of atonement on the whole universe, but even then, in principle, the theory is unchanged.

The contribution made by the author to the subject is indirect rather than direct. In the chapter on "The Constitution of Humanity" he develops a very satisfactory statement of the organic or corporate life, and yet does justice to the individual life. In the following chapter he shows that corporate relations are upheld through representatives, whose acts the body of individuals consciously and freely adopts as its own; that an eminent individual embodies the whole spirit of an age, as Dante, Shakespeare, Milton; that it is the secret, what may be called the subconscious, desire of every writer, or speaker, or artist, to be at once individual and generic, to be the mouthpiece of the thinking and feeling of at least his own circle, to have not merely individual but collective thoughts and feelings. The true representative of men would focus the idea of human life in its highest relations of faith and worship. Moses was in a degree such a representative. David, in a higher degree, was the organ and medium of his people's relation to God. The nation rendered corporate worship to God through its priestly representative. Lawgiver, king, priest, and prophet were typical of the complete representative yet to come. The manner in which Christ realizes this function is indicated in the chapter entitled, "The Passion of Christ the Passion of Man."

The reality of God's anger towards sin is maintained as against incorrect views of the divine immutability and impassiveness, and is distinguished from enmity and vindictiveness.

The author considers it a grave defect that the teaching of Scripture and of the fathers has been so far departed from as to make forgiveness consist in the remission of penalty rather than in the remission of sins. He advocates warmly a return to the Scriptural view that forgiveness establishes a right relation with God, that it is first of all reconciliation, and not primarily escape from penalty. He holds that the significance of atonement is obscured and nearly lost by setting it over against penalty, the demands of law, the punishment to which the sinner is exposed, instead of finding its fitness to bring God and man together in peace and in the forgiveness of sins. No part of the book is so important as the chapter which makes this distinction, so simple and obvious, yet so damaging to theories of atonement which are chiefly concerned with the substitution of Christ's sufferings for the penalties of sin.

No definite theory is formulated by the author, but in the chapter on "The Atonement and Prayer," he offers some suggestions pertaining to the objective reality of the atonement and the substitutionary character of the sufferings and death of Christ. In prayer God works in us awakening desires for holiness and bringing them to expression. When we pray for help to live aright towards our fellow-men, God moves upon our hearts to produce an active obedience to his will. It is our work, but it is God's work. "God fulfills his own law on our behalf, and his fulfill-

ment stands as ours, or rather really becomes our fulfillment." God's thinking, feeling, willing in us are in the truest sense our own, more truly our own than what we work by and for ourselves. As applied to the atonement, Dr. Simon says, "When, therefore, Christ takes our place in the atonement, He does—that is, God does—in principle the same thing that is done when, in answer to prayer, God helps us to render unto Him due obedience. In both cases the righteousness of God becomes our righteousness: it is his, yet ours; it is ours, yet his. . . . So far from the endurance of our penalty involving greater difficulty than the performance of our duties, it might be considered to involve less difficulty. It seems easier to conceive of a substitute bearing our burden than doing our work. . . . That relatively to which I am and must be passive seems more readily transferable than that relatively to which I am and must be active. . . . If God can be righteous on our behalf in the form of obedience, why not in the form of suffering? If it be untrue and perverse for Him to endure our penalty and *count* it as ours, nay, *make* it our endurance, why is it not untrue and perverse for Him to render obedience to Himself on our behalf, and make his obedience ours?" It is finally argued that when we pray to God in sorrow or suffering for comfort and help, we believe that he really sympathizes, that our sorrow is his sorrow, our suffering his suffering. And, as sorrow and pain are directly or indirectly the fruit of sin, God, in taking on his own heart our troubles, undertakes to bear for us in a measure the violation of his own law. And this He does more deeply in the sufferings of his dear Son.

This brief description indicates the character of the book, and also the considerations which the author emphasizes as essential to a theory of atonement. His theory is rather indefinite, but the lines on which it moves are clearly seen. The discussion indicates what is going on in Christian thought respecting this central doctrine. There is a growing dissatisfaction with external theories, with suppositions concerning law, debt, penalty, judicial demands, and the like. There is also dissatisfaction with subjective theories, which find little more in the sacrificial work of Christ than an impression, an exhibition, or an influence. It is felt that neither of these views goes deep enough into the reality of redemption. It is seen that Christian life and thought needs to appropriate the eternal and universal mediation of Christ, to accept the Incarnation of the Son of God into humanity with all it involves of the constitution and the reconstitution of men, to recognize the inworking of Christ's personality and love in the actual life of the world, and to regain the early conception of the kingdom of God realized in the organic life of men through the identification of the Son of Man with those whom he came to seek and to save.

George Harris.

CHRISTIAN THEISM. Its Claims and Sanctions. By D. B. PURINTON, LL. D., Vice-President and Professor of Metaphysics in West Virginia University. Pp. vii, 303. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

The object of this work seems to be to gather up the results of recent discussions, and to combine them into a form convenient for use in teaching a class of college students. Very free use has therefore been made of the ideas wrought out by contemporary American and English authors.

the titles of their works being given at the end of the chapters in which they have been most copiously drawn from. The usual ground is traversed in the examination of the so-called arguments for the existence of God. The proofs of intelligence in nature are derived from the order and law which prevail, called by the author the Eutaxiological Argument, the proofs of volition from adaptations in nature, the proofs of personality from our own self-consciousness, the proofs of goodness from the facts of history, the proof of unity chiefly from the unity of nature, and the proofs of infinity from causality. The Introduction emphasizes the universal character of Christianity, and the authority of the Bible, topics somewhat remote from the objects of the work, and there are chapters at the end on Anti-Theistic Theories, Evolution, and Immortality.

The only part of the work which can lay claim to originality is the chapter on "Infinity," in which it is argued that the causal evidence of infinite power is as great as, in the nature of the case, it can be. The universe is greater than we can conceive, yet does not exhaust the divine power, because it must be sustained after it is created. And however vast the universe might be conceived, the cause must be greater. The same conclusion is reached from the infinity of space. The location of the Universe in space involves the absolute control, not only of the Cosmos, but of space itself.

The author takes up a decidedly hostile, and a needlessly hostile, attitude towards Evolution, urging objections which were much more in vogue ten years ago than now. For example, rudimentary organs which are useless in some animals are supposed to have become weakened by disuse, and indicate the derivation of one species from another. This is a reasonable explanation. But Dr. Purinton rejects it, and adheres to the old explanation of unity of type in the creative thought, a sort of general model from which the Creator did not depart, even when some features would be useless. Resemblances of anatomical structure point, indeed, says the author, to a common origin; but that common origin is a conscious, intelligent Creator, rather than an unconscious, material organism. His whole argument against Evolution proves too much, for it would deny altogether the derivation of species, and set aside those conclusions on which all naturalists are agreed. A book is of doubtful service to the cause of Theism which antagonizes the settled opinions of all reputable scientists.

George Harris.

MORAL ORDER AND PROGRESS. An Analysis of Ethical Conceptions. BY S. ALEXANDER. Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. 8vo, pp. 413. London: Trübner & Co.; Ludgate Hill. 1889.

The chief general interest of the present work is the tendency which it represents. It is a reaction against the school and teachings of T. H. Green, as also was Fowler and Wilson's "Principles of Morals," published two years ago. However we may judge of Green's metaphysics and his sympathies for Kant and Hegel, there was a spiritual breadth and depth in his thought which dissenters from his opinions do not often appreciate. Certainly neither Alexander nor Fowler and Wilson have approached an understanding of him, nor exhibited any of that deep psychological analysis of the moral consciousness which makes Green a master. They have evidently taken offense at the transcendental char-

acter of his philosophy, and so have not taken the pains to ascertain, and then appreciate, ideas which were either independent of that philosophy, or could be appreciated without penetrating its arcana. This is to be all the more lamented because the protest carries with it implications about Green's position which are not true, but which are likely to be accepted by all who do not make an effort to understand the doctrine of that school. The work under notice professes adhesion to the party of empiricism, and makes haste to conciliate itself with the doctrine of evolution. With this it is not necessary to quarrel in its main aspects. But there is something very provincial in the insinuation at this late date that Kantian philosophy is incompatible with empiricism and evolution. If any philosophy ever dispensed with the necessity of antagonizing experience, or rose above the opposition between the school of Locke and the Intuitionists, it was the Kantian, and it only creates a smile among philosophers when some novice whose ethics is empirical announces his dissent from the *a priori* position, as if Kant and his followers did not insist that the only possible philosophy was one which combined experience with *a priori* functions. T. H. Green is not wanting in characteristics exposed to criticism, but it is not because he was disposed to minimize or ignore the importance of experience in the moral development of consciousness. His faults, however, are overshadowed by merits which the University of Oxford cannot afford to depreciate, if high moral ideals are to be stimulated and encouraged. Green's spiritual elevation and insight into the aspirations of man are worth too much to have them supplanted by a system which is a stranger to them.

The ethical formula by which the author summarizes his moral theory is clear evidence that he has not risen to an understanding of the school from which he dissents. The fundamental object of ethics he considers as "the equilibrium of conduct." This position at once betrays the traditions of Oxford; for one requires only a slight acquaintance with the history of ethics to recognize in this formula Aristotle's doctrine of "the mean." It is not necessary to dispute either the truth or value of this position in order to criticise the author for defect of moral vision. Equilibrium of conduct is a very useful ethical norm. But it is pertinent, in connection with this and with what we have already said, to remark that the author has not profited by that very fine chapter of Green which compares the Greek and the Christian ideals of virtue. Had he fully appreciated the thought of that chapter, he would not have departed so far from his master, nor have chosen for his ethical principle a conception which represents only resistance to sensuous impulses instead of the higher and positive pursuit of an ideal as the essence of morality. In other respects, we would be less critical of the work. Indeed, we could give it high praise, and would not hesitate to use it as a text, because of its admirably clear outline. But it would be with the intention of employing very frequent and free criticism.

It is impossible to discuss the work in any detail. But the chief points of interest in any theory of ethics are its moral ideal, its relation to the theory of hedonism, and its conception of responsibility. As to the first of these the author does not reach the high elevation of his master. He shows unmistakably the relaxation which always follows a reaction, and so far misconceives what is meant by "the moral ideal" as to confuse it with the particular "realized ideals" of actual history, rather than to see it is an aspiration which gives dignity and worth to actions aiming

high, and is as a measure for the worth of actual achievement. As to hedonism, the author admits the fatal objection to Bentham's form of it when he accepts as final that there is a distinction of quality, and not merely of quantity, in pleasure and pain. But he does not seem to appreciate how fatal such a distinction is to every form of hedonism, because it distinctly indicates that the whole moral problem has to be decided after admitting or supposing that pleasure is an object of action. The opposing school reject pleasure, not because it is *per se* an evil, but because when unqualified it is not *per se* a good; and those who affirm a difference of quality coincident with the good and the evil are bound to supply the reason for their distinction, and we suspect that they would give much the same reasons for it as are given by their opponents for a different system. It is strange that so many cannot realize what Plato settled once for all, that the indeterminate nature of pleasure was decisive against its use as a criterion of conduct as long as it is divisible into good and bad pleasures, because it is the distinction between good and bad that ethics endeavors to account for. Had the author seen that Green's formula for conduct, namely, "the satisfaction of desire," was intended to express an approvable end or object more than personal pleasure, although not opposed to it, he would have displayed more appreciation of it and have found it *above*, and so only relatively, if at all opposed to the position assumed by himself. The manner in which responsibility is discussed measures better than the other topics the limited distance to which the author has penetrated the ethical problem. His whole position is one which tacitly denies freedom and yet maintains a doctrine of punishment. He distinctly asserts that the argument from conscientiousness is an illusion, and that a man is free only as he chooses the right; that "he is free in the sense that he ought to be good, but that he is not free therefore to be good." If a man is free who chooses the right, and he is not free who chooses the wrong, it is hard to see how we can talk about responsibility or institute any punishments whatever, because, unless he were free, a punishment would not alter his conduct. It is absurd to say that "it is just because a man cannot help doing what he does that he is responsible," and then add in a footnote that there "is a sense in which sometimes a man cannot help doing what he does when his will is forced and when he is not held responsible." For this only indicates that the author understands neither the freedom of the will nor the doctrine of responsibility.

J. H. Hyslop.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

THE MORAL IDEAL. A Historic Study. By JULIA WEDGWOOD. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 400. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1889.

The second edition of this work deserves notice because of its value to the student and teacher of morals. We shall not go into its contents with any detail, although their character merits more than a passing remark. The fact that the work has previously been before the public makes it unnecessary to say more than is required to announce a second edition, and to call the attention of new students to a book of rare worth. It is much more than a history; it is philosophic treatment of the "moral ideal" as it has been represented in the highest aspirations of men from the dawn of history, but of course limiting the subject to the

main conception of India, Greece, Rome, and the modern civilizations dominated by Christianity. The interest of the treatment lies in the fact that it is not a mere narrative of beliefs and practices, but a comparison of great ideas that have dominated the moral development of man. The essay has a special interest in these times when the theory of evolution exercises so much influence to obscure the nature of morality by dissertations about its genesis, and also when the reactionaries of the day are so exuberant for Greek ethics in which they see all the glory of the race. But the author of "the moral ideal" does not share that feeling. She sees a very different meaning in that history and progress which have survived the best endeavors of the Greek and the Roman. It certainly does seem a piece of folly to laugh at the work of twenty centuries, and to fall down in worship before a product which Providence or nature has refused to protect and preserve. Modern ethics will occupy high ground when it appreciates what Christianity has done for elevating and purifying moral ideals. In too many cases the critic is deceived by associating with a language inherited from the ancients moral ideas which they never held, and which perished in default of the vitality to secure them a continued existence. All this is brought out by the author in a manner which makes her work a perpetual feast for the student. The generalizations are those of a philosophic and profoundly versed mind. Their masculine character is a very marked feature of them, in all perhaps but that delicate sympathy for the religious conception of life which can nearly always be detected in the thought of woman. But aside from elements of style, it is the thought that commends the work to attention. The very fact that the standpoint is the *ideal* gives the subject a commanding position, from which the mind can look upon the discussions of empiricists and evolutionists with some indifference; not that it can ignore their influence or be justified in depreciating them, but that the ideal affords a conception which secures ethics against the infringements of mere facts or the endeavor to represent ethics as employed only with *what is*.

We should be glad to give an outline of the work, but circumstances forbid. We must be content with indicating in a passage of the author's own words the standpoint from which the moral ideal is approached, and it will be sufficient to measure the value of the essay to the general moralist. Few have been able to give so exalted a conception of the Christian ideal while viewing it from the broad plane of philosophy, and the merit of it is that the account is not overdrawn. It is conceived by contrasting the Hellenic and Hebrew consciousness in the fact that the watchword of the former was, "Know thyself;" of the latter, "Deny thyself." The background of the Hebrew consciousness was "the vision of God which threw a gleam on the whole history of man and lit up its moral development with a meaning which was borrowed from a higher sphere." "This influence," says the author, "is visible in those to whom it is most obnoxious; to this day the dialect of men who deem it an obsolete error to connect humanity with aught beyond itself is stamped indelibly with the ideas and beliefs of those who felt all its value to lie in such a connection; the protest against Scriptural teaching, which is the form in which many in our day know most of the Scriptures, records their influence in inverted outlines, ready to be restored to their original form when mirrored in a sympathetic mind. Hebrew thought has given its bias to all moral speculation, not because the Hebrew mind was spe-

cially interested in moral questions, but because it sprang at its initial movement to a point above them, and came upon them from a higher view."

J. H. Hyslop.

THEORY OF CONDUCT. By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER. 16mo. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

In the leisure which relief from personal and official duties affords, Professor Alexander has produced four chapters of much interest on the Theory of Ethics. They treat respectively of "The Theory of Right," "The Theory of Duty," "The Nature of Character," and "The Motive to Morality." It is unfortunate that the work is not more exhaustive, for it is not without freshness and vigor, and would be of more service could it appeal to a wider circle of readers. Its chief interest is in the fact that the author abides by the religious sanctions of morality in a time marked by all but universal desertion of it. It is a good summary for those who have not the time to keep abreast of more exhaustive works.

J. H. Hyslop.

LES SOURCES DU PENTATEUQUE. Étude de critique et d'histoire, par ALEXANDRE WESTPHAL, licencié en théologie. Vol. I. LE PROBLÈME LITTÉRAIRE. Paris : Librairie Fischbacher. 1888.

Readers of the first volume of M. Westphal's very valuable work will be apt to gain an erroneous impression, unless they carefully bear in mind a distinction often ignored, — rarely emphasized as it should be. The volume before us presents a very complete history of Pentateuch criticism, from the tradition of the "Great Synagogue" down to the latest phase of the Documentary Theory, but it is a history of that branch of the science only which is variously called "analytical," or "literary" (*le problème littéraire*), as distinguished from the complementary department of "historical criticism" (*étude d'histoire*).

The inexperienced reader might perhaps find fault that he was left to infer from the title-page alone this important discrimination, and hence was led to accept as a complete and continuous history an account which practically passes over two of the most important periods of critical study. But in spite of some superficial drawbacks, M. Westphal's plan has much to recommend it. His ensuing volume (*Le Problème Historique*?) will doubtless intercalate the account of De Wette's brilliant comparison of the laws and the history in the first decade of the century, and his fixing of a pivotal point for the dating of Pentateuchal documents in the establishing of circ. 620 B. C. for the date of Deuteronomy. Then we shall doubtless be given the account of the last two decades, in which Graf and his followers have accomplished their marvelous work along the lines of history mainly. With the author's whole work before us, we shall doubtless lose that singular sense of disproportion likely to be conveyed by vol. i. read by itself, as if the author were deeply versed in that which other critics have either never read at all, or else have forgotten some twenty years ago, and profoundly ignorant of that which to the critical world of to-day is most familiar and most interesting.

M. Westphal proves himself, in his thirty pages of preface or introduction, ardently evangelical as well as fearlessly progressive. He deplores the present tendency toward establishing "two Bibles, the Bible of the believer, and the Bible of the man of science." This tendency is due, he says, to the *post-Reformation* dogmatism which abandoned the broad and evangelical position of the Reformers to set up an artificial and *a priori* system. Luther had said: "Even should it be true that the sacred writers have mingled wood and straw with their pure gold and precious metals in the construction of the Scriptures, the foundation remains no less immutable, and the fire of criticism will destroy its imperfect elements." The dogmatists of the next century set up an infallible letter, and forced an unnatural conflict between faith and reason. The time has come to welcome discoveries formerly decreed inimical to faith. "Let us so transform our theology as to bring to an end the incompatibility introduced by men between the Bible as science has discovered it to be, and the Bible as faith desires to have it." That very documentary analysis of the Pentateuch, when received as a friend and not an enemy, affords us a triple tradition of the Old Testament, — three witnesses for one.

Large space is given to the history of tradition and of the forerunners of criticism. The chain of objections to the Mosaic origin is shown to be at least as worthy of consideration and almost as continuous as the Rabbinic tradition itself.

The observations of independent thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appear, under M. Westphal's scrutiny, more numerous and more searching than is commonly supposed. They are treated by one who plainly describes at first hand. Not the only surprise to persons unfamiliar with the writings of these critics before criticism will be the very considerable mass of evidence accumulated by them in opposition to mere tradition and dogmatism, nor the shrewdness of their early guesses, but the fact which M. Westphal does not fail to point out, that in the majority of cases they enter the lists as champions of the church against unbelief. Thus Simon's "*Histoire Critique*" opposes Spinoza, and Le Clerc's "*Sentimens*" in turn refutes Simon.

With J. Astruc's discovery of the sources of Genesis, the real history of criticism begins. Heretofore, investigation brought mainly negative results, necessarily disconnected. Astruc's modest Conjectures furnished the first clue to a rational explanation of the long familiar incongruities and mutual inconsistencies of the Genesis sagas. It was as the champion of Moses that Astruc appeared, and he prided himself on having eliminated from Genesis what he called its *antichronismes*. By a separation of the document using Elohim from that using Yahweh, Astruc deemed the difficulties in the way of Mosaic authorship removed. Gen. xxxviii., which requires in its present context the birth of four generations within twenty-three years, and Gen. xxxiv., which in its connection requires that Dinah should have won the heart of Shechem at the age of four years, and Simeon and Levi to have wrought their deed of vengeance at the age of ten and eleven at the most, found a new and harmonious connection. The fact that the simple process of arranging in parallel columns the portions of Genesis which employ respectively the names Yahweh and Elohim removed the *antichronismes* of this kind, gave more satisfaction to Astruc than the fact that his parallel columns were found to constitute two distinct and divergent documents or *Mémoires*.

The story of the adoption by Eichhorn of the remarkable discovery of Astruc and its introduction into the schools of Germany is more familiar. Westphal's especial contribution to this part of the history is his glowing tribute to the genius of Ilgen. Critical analysis, for more than half a century after the publication of Ilgen's "Urkunden" (1798), remained behind the discoveries of this brilliant critic. To him is due the discovery of the second Elohist, so called, whom Hupfeld in 1853 was to bring forward *de novo* as the triumphant solution of a half century of entanglement. Vater and Geddes introduced only confusion and despair with their Fragmentary Hypothesis. Ewald regained but half the lost ground with the Supplementary Hypothesis, and the recognition of the unity and literary integrity of the "Grundschrift." Not till the analysis of the present day, resting upon the labors of Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Schrader, Colenso, Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kuenen, Budde, Bruston, have the true elements of the problem as recognized by Ilgen been appreciated.

The part of modern criticism, so far as it has given itself to analysis, has been to extend the work of Ilgen throughout the Hexateuch, and to recognize (as do Budde, Kuenen, Bruston) a second Yahwist beside the second Elohist.

Tables of analysis, and copious illustrations from the parallel narratives, including chapters of salient interest from the creation to the sending of the spies (Num. xiii.), are given at the close, with some original suggestions for analysis of the difficult section of the Sinaitic legislation.

The work will be exceedingly useful for acquainting the reading public with the history of patient research and brilliant discovery in Pentateuchal criticism. The author's careful work should not have been marred by the gross carelessness of the proof-reader.

B. W. Bacon.

OSWEGO, N. Y.

DIE GESCHICHTE DES ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN PRIESTERTHUMS, untersucht von W. W. GRAFEN BAUDISSIN. Leipzig: Hirzel.

Baudissin has rendered a real service to the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch by his investigation of the genesis and the history of Priesthood in the Old Testament. He takes his stand with Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Kittel over against the school of Reuss, and yet he is entirely independent in his methods, and has not a few opinions of his own. He holds that E was the most ancient of the documents. This was united with J by an editor who compacted them so tightly that it is often difficult to separate them. In the priestly document, he distinguishes P¹ and P² by differences in their views of the ministry of the Levites. He thinks that the legislation of P is the result of a long legislative development in priestly circles at Jerusalem. From time to time, separate codes of priestly rules were written down. In the first half of the seventh century, shortly before the reign of Josiah, a priest collected these, with the exception of the sanctity code (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) into a larger work with historical and genealogical frames. This document was a private code for the priesthood at Jerusalem. It elaborated the priestly legislation far beyond existing circumstances. The ideal in it is so prominent that many of its laws have never been realized in fact. The pri-

vate priestly character of this document is the reason why it was unknown to the author of the Deuteronomic code, or disregarded by him. For the author of D wrote a people's book in view of the conditions and circumstances of his time. This code was composed shortly after P, and reflects the religion and doctrines of the times of Jeremiah. When discovered in the temple, it became the basis of the reform of Josiah. But the priest's code did not become a public code until after the exile, in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. The sanctity code remained as a document by itself until late in the exile, when it was incorporated in P. Ezekiel used it as his favorite law-book, while it was a code by itself. Baudissin argues that the neglect to use P by D, together with the use of JE by D, implies, not the non-existence of P, but only that at that time JE was a document by itself. He proves the pre-exilic composition of P by showing that the legislation of Ezekiel is an advance upon it in several particulars, such as the limitation of the priesthood to the line of Zadok; the slaying of sacrificial victims by Levites instead of by the offerers, as in P; the partial substitution of the prince for the high priest and the ignoring of the latter; the enhanced sanctity of the priesthood, and the extreme precautions for guarding the approaches to the divine presence. He also shows an advance of the chronicler, who writes in the late Persian period or early Greek period with the use of older documents from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, beyond P; and that the legislation of P does not suit the circumstances of the new community in Jerusalem at the Restoration in many important respects. He does not hesitate to regard P and D as written at about the same time. The documents were compacted during the last years of the exile by the Deuteronomist, who united P with JE, and then used P as the closing legislation. Baudissin thinks that this order, that was followed by the Deuteronomist who edited them, favors the priority of P to D. We can do little more than call attention to this important investigation. Baudissin agrees with all critics in the analysis of the Hexateuch, except that in a few cases he suggests improvements and modifications. The difference between him and other critics is in the date of the document P, and the time and method of compacting the four great documents. He adds to the investigation of Dillmann important materials for that work which is so greatly needed, the detailed analysis of the document P; for, after the separation of the sanctity code, to which critics are agreed, there still remain different layers of legislation which must be analyzed and arranged in historical order before the problem of the Hexateuch can be entirely solved.

C. A. Briggs.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE LILY AMONG THORNS. A Study of the Biblical Drama entitled "The Song of Songs." By WILLIAM ELIOT GRIFFIS, D.D., pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, Mass., and author of "The Mikado's Empire." Pp. viii, 274. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. \$1.25.

"The Lily Among Thorns" is a genuine contribution to Biblical literature. Dr. Griffis has recovered for us from the rubbish of fanciful, rabbinical, and mediæval interpretations "a gem of purest ray."

The book testifies not only to the author's thorough and broad general scholarship and culture, but to his mastery of the Hebrew lore — historical, literary, and linguistic — connected with the subject.

Dr. Griffis reveals a strong and poetic element in his nature responding vividly to the subtle touch of the noble sentiments embodied in this unrivaled poem. Certainly, without a sympathetic imagination, he could not have so clearly and eloquently unfolded its exquisite beauty or dramatic art.

In the light of the exposition here given, based on the Revised Version, "The Song of Songs" ceases to be a mere allegory, or a book unsuitable to be placed in the hands of the immature, and becomes a poem of the purest love, — of love with every sweetest human quality mingled with that which is a spark of the divine fire.

This book should not be undervalued in its relation to the social evils of our time and country.

It is, indeed, no small matter that, in this age of wonderful progress, we discover in the Hebrew Bible, from which Mormonism, Polygamy, and the advocates of laxity in marriage relations have derived both their defensive and offensive weapons, a perfect antidote to the poison of their base doctrines.

"The Lily Among Thorns" exemplifies principles which, if applied, will leaven the whole lump of society, purifying and elevating to the highest plane our individual, family, and national life.

G. Gannett.

BOSTON, MASS.

ARABISCHE GRAMMATIK, mit Litteratur, Paradigmen, Chrestomathie und Glossar. Von Dr. A. SOCIN, Ord. Professor an der Universität Tübingen. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. 8vo, pp. xvi, 137, 211. Berlin: H. Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1889.

That a second edition of this grammar has been called for within four years is sufficient evidence that the test of experience has confirmed the favorable opinion which scholars formed of it at its first appearance. The new edition has profited by both criticism and experience. The definitions and statements have been carefully revised throughout, with manifest gain in clearness and precision. The arrangement has been improved by a better distribution of the matter into paragraphs; by numerous changes in the order; and mechanically, by printing the Remarks in smaller type, thus distinguishing them better from the body of the text. More material changes meet us in the chapter on the Noun (chap. iii.). Beside a concise survey of the more common noun-types, which is new, the chapter now contains a series of paragraphs on the formation of nouns from weak stems, matter which was formerly scattered in the form of observations through the chapter on the Verb. The whole subject of the infinitive and participle has also been transferred to this place. The treatment of the verbs whose second or third radical is a half-vowel is much simplified. The traditional presentation of this subject was open to more than one objection. It is, to say the least, doubtful whether it is historically true; and it put no inconsiderable unnecessary difficulty in the way of the beginner. I am very glad that Socin has broken with it. I think, however, that the statements, for example, on p. 39, are capable of further generalization. In the Syntax several paragraphs, among them the important ones on the Passive (§ 101), and on Negative and Copulative Sentences (§§ 128, 130), are new; others, as § 120 (on Concord in Verbal Sentences), have been entirely recast. An

appendix gives the names of the days of the week and the months, and explains the peculiarities of the Moslem chronology. The Literature has been brought down to date, though I notice here and there an oversight, for example, vol. ii. of Derenbourg's *Sibawaihi*. The second part of the volume contains the Paradigms and the Chrestomathy. In the Paradigms, Table IX., exhibiting the irregular forms of verbs containing Hamza, is new, as is also the table of infinitives and participles, p. 51. Other corrections and improvements cannot be noticed here. The Chrestomathy has been enlarged by about one fourth. The most important addition is that of a collection of exercises and examples (pp. 30*-47*) to be used in connection with the study of the grammar, enabling the learner to put his knowledge at once to use, and bridging the always difficult passage from the elements to the reading of continuous texts. The selection of examples illustrating the different kinds of sentence (p. 42* ff.) will, I think, be found especially useful: they will also make the use of the corresponding exercises for translation into Arabic, in the third part of the Chrestomathy, much more practicable. The selections for reading are the same as in the previous edition; only that from *Mas'ûdi* is lengthened by about six pages. The Glossary has been revised and enlarged to include the new matter in the Chrestomathy. These changes add materially to the usefulness of the book. It is to be hoped that, some day, we shall have an English translation worthy of it. The printing is done with the correctness and beauty of the Drugulin presses. The few broken points I have noticed will hardly trouble even the beginner. Of misprints I have observed but one or two. P. 38, l. 8, for *î* read *û*; p. 48, l. 4 from below, for *و* read *ب*; p. 104, l. 7, read *م*.

George F. Moore.

GESCHICHTE DES JÜDISCHEN VOLKES IM ZEITALTER JESU CHRISTI. VON D. EMIL SCHÜRER, Ordentl. Professor der Theologie zu Giessen. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage des Lehrbuchs der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Erster Theil. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1889.

The "Second Part" of this work was published, it will be remembered, early in 1886 (see "The Andover Review" for August, 1886, p. 216 f). At that time Professor Schürer thought that the remainder, that is the First Part, of his work would require comparatively little enlargement, and might be expected within a year. But both he and his readers have learned that art is longer than time. After the lapse of nearly four years, we receive the *First Half* only of the promised First Part. An examination of it, however, verifies the adage that a patient waiter is no loser. Its 256 pages correspond to 157 in the earlier book, and every one of them gives evidence of thorough revision. Indeed, down to the 220th page, hardly a paragraph reappears as it was first published; and by far the greater number have been completely re-written.

The author's painstaking endeavor to improve the book shows itself even in external matters — such as the broader page, the more lucid or convenient arrangement of material (for example, the massing together in fine print of the annotations after each one of the Syrian kings), the more frequent insertion of dates, and particularly in the practice of numbering the notes consecutively from the beginning of each chapter to its close, — a device of such obvious convenience for purposes of reference, that it

would be universally adopted, were the users of books the makers of them.

Students in the habit of betaking themselves to Professor Schürer's work for an outlook over the "Literature" of the many and diverse topics of which it treats will find it even more helpful in its new form than before. The lists have been both weeded and supplemented; the scope and character of the works named often more precisely defined, and the new publications recognized, including those of the year 1888. Nothing important, whether out-of-the-way book, or article buried in some learned periodical of narrow circulation, seems to have escaped our author's vigilance. And he adds to his knowledge of continental publications an exceptional acquaintance with those in the English tongue. Lewin, Milman, Raphall, Robinson (whom, by the way, Professor Schürer, unlike many of his countrymen, knows to be an American), Stanley, Porter, are among the vernacular writers on sacred history and geography whom he enumerates; Etheridge, Deutsch, Ginsburg, and others, on Jewish matters; Conder, Kitchener, Wilson, Warren, and the rest, contributors to the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund; Hicks, Gardner, Head, Madden, who have treated of epigraphy and numismatics. The encyclopædias, too, and Bible dictionaries, — Alexander's *Kitto*, Hackett and Abbot's *Smith* (which our author pronounces to be greatly superior to the London edition), — together with the dictionaries of Christian Biography and Antiquities, have not been overlooked. Even the numbers of the "Academy" and of the "American Journal of Philology" are referred to. Of course, in literary references of so wide a range, some slight inaccuracies and oversights are to be expected. In the case of *Prideaux's "Connection,"* for example, the edition of 1749, in 4 vols. is indeed the best of the old editions; but it has been quite superseded by that in 2 vols. 8vo, edited by J. Talboys Wheeler in 1858. Among the works on Biblical geography, also, mention might well have been made of the "Bibel-Atlas," by Riess, in its second edition (1887), with its full and convenient index; and (on p. 10) of the fifth edition of Raumer's "Palästina," edited by Furrer, which was announced many months ago. But the fullness and accuracy of the lists are marvelous; and more serviceable even than their copiousness is the scholarly discrimination which has evidently governed both the selection and the description of the works.

Admiration for the accessaries, however, must not absorb us to the neglect of the body of the work. Prominent among the impressions made by that is the conviction that the author has not merely taken account of what other historians and critics have said since he first wrote, but has subjected his *Sources* to a thorough reëxamination. Especially is this apparent in the case of Josephus and the books of Maccabees. It is not surprising, therefore, that the preliminary account of the former and his writings has swollen to twenty-five pages in place of eleven. And it is gratifying to find that this renewed study warrants Professor Schürer in reaffirming his discreet judgment respecting the general trustworthiness of the Jewish writer, especially in his "Jewish War." The two books of Maccabees were considered in the volume published in 1886. In the part which has just appeared we find the discussion, then promised, of the long-standing question, whether these two independent sources agree in beginning the Seleucid era (which fixes the chronology of all the important events they record) with the autumn of the year 312 B. C. Our

author's reëxamination of this question is of marked clearness and ability, and leads him to abandon the opinion he expressed in his first edition, and to hold, with the majority of critics, that in the first book of Maccabees the Seleucid era begins, not in the autumn, but in the spring of B. C. 312, and that there are no sufficient reasons for assuming a different chronology for the second book.

The work impresses the reader also with the frequent aid the author has derived from coins and inscriptions. It illustrates strikingly the great historic value of Oriental exploration. The literary fertility during the last few decades, especially in Jewish numismatics, has evidently been keenly watched by him; and not a few details relative to the Syrian and Maccabean periods have been elucidated by this means.

Further: it is easy to see that renewed study has been given to the Jewish sources. Twice the space occupied in the first edition is now devoted to the Rabbinical literature; and the account given of its contents, origin, and worth, while marked by judicious circumspection, is eminently lucid and useful.

In spite of the unavoidably encyclopædic character of his book, the author has not allowed himself to forget that it professes to be a "history." A reader who so chooses can neglect the notes altogether, and thus get a narrative fairly continuous, and one which, with all its condensation, is often extremely vivid and engaging. An excellent specimen is the chapter entitled "Die Religionsnoth und die Erhebung" (pp. 138-162). On a leisurely re-perusal he will find packed away in the foot-notes discussions and references relative to such interesting points as the alleged visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem (p. 138 sq.), the effacement of circumcision (p. 151), the situation of Aera and the topography of the Temple (p. 154), the identification of Modin (p. 156), the seat of the Asideans (p. 157), the derivation and meaning of the name Maccabee (p. 158), the Feast of the Dedication (p. 162), the internal arrangements of the pre-Herodian Temple (p. 176), the location of Ephraim and Ramathaim or Rama (p. 183), the relations between the Jews and the Spartans (p. 186), — and so on indefinitely. Grateful for the unwearied labors of the author, he will be ready to pardon him in advance for the non-fulfillment of his half-promise to complete the work before the close of the year 1889.

The typography of the book as respects accuracy is in keeping with its scholarship. The slips noted are such trifles as "Abbott" for "Abbot" (p. 8, l. 25), "on" for "one" (p. 14, l. 17), "Mischnah" for "Mishnah" (p. 104, last line but one), "Aramic" for "Aramaic" (p. 123, l. 31).

In conclusion, it is not superfluous to express an earnest hope that the task of translating this volume may fall into thoroughly competent hands.

J. H. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES. By REV. JACOB MERRILL MANNING, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. With a Likeness, and brief Biographical Note. Pp. 542. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

This volume contains thirty-six sermons, an address on Samuel Adams, another on John Brown, and a eulogy on Henry Wilson. The historical

portraiture of these men, specially of Adams and Brown, is unusually good; indeed, it has been rarely excelled, we think, by anything of the kind in American literature. Dr. Manning was peculiarly well qualified to understand and appreciate such men. He himself had, unobtrusive, but deep and strong, the same moral earnestness as they; and so in these addresses his words take, very naturally, the heroic movement of their lives, and are suffused with their spirit and his own.

Of the sermons, one, on "Christian Missions," was preached before the American Board; all the rest were prepared for his own people. One, on "Worship as a Means of Spiritual Culture," was preached at the dedication of the new Old South Church. One, on "The Gospel of the Windows," is an interpretation of the pictures and symbolism of that edifice. One, on "Sickness and its Lessons," was preached in 1863 upon his recovery from a long and very dangerous illness incurred while serving as chaplain in the army. One, on "The Natural and the Spiritual Body," was preached at Easter, 1879. None of the others have any reference to any special occasion. As Dr. Manning's pulpit work was very uniform in quality, many other sermons might doubtless be selected from his manuscripts as good and profitable as these, and these may be taken as representing his ordinary preaching.

Those who heard them will of course read them with the greater interest, for they will recover as they read some of the influence of the preacher's personality. Others who seldom or never heard him will read them with the influence of his character which they honored, and find his words reinforced by their knowledge of the man. Those who know little or nothing of him may be confidently assured that his sermons well represent his life and character. But they are less dependent than sermons usually are on the presence and voice of the preacher. They bear printing with less loss. Some who thought the preacher's manner was weighty rather than warm, and dignified rather than tender, may be almost surprised as they feel the warmth and tenderness of these printed pages.

These sermons are all on the higher planes of revealed truth; they all pertain closely to Christ and his mission, and they all bear very directly on the spiritual interests of men. The special subjects are quite various. Each is treated from a natural standpoint and within very simple outlines. The style is clear, terse, and vigorous. There is not an obscure sentence in the book, nor a thought which a reader of fair intelligence cannot grasp. But there is abundant thought for the most intellectual, with invigorating moral tonics, and healthy nourishment for the spiritual life. In the range of his thought in preaching, Dr. Manning kept within the limit of those truths which, as he viewed them, can be made evident to any fair-minded person in a Christian community. In these sermons he does not try to enlarge this province. Beyond it he never indulges surmising, and within it he never discusses a doubt. Hence his thought never hesitates; its steps are firm and its stopping-places are secure. He knows in part, and all the more surely, and all the better for us, because in preaching he does not guess at the unknown part. The sermons impress us with his strong sense of the great spiritual realities, with his sacred respect for the claims of truth as it chiefly concerns us, with his own befitting sincerity and faithful purpose. So he presents his truths without any apologizing, or skillful prefaces, or oratorical ingenuity, as though they would be dishonored by any adventitious attractions. They always appear in their dignity and dignifying influence.

Yet there is no lack of freedom in these sermons. We feel no constraint in them but that of evident truth and worthy motive. Here are no legal conceptions of the gospel, no servile following of religious tradition, no demand for an unvarying religious experience, no violence to a reasonable faith. Dr. Manning was conservative, but he was also entirely free from the restrictions of a technical theology. Its forms never governed and rarely guided him in preaching. His thought is too full of the spirit of truth to be in bondage to its letter. His sermons are vital and invigorating.

From the one on "The Suffering Saviour," we cite the following: "Christ so entered into our humanity as to be our Brother, the perfect and sinless Brother of all the world. That brotherliness in Him must needs have caused that our guilt and woe should be to Him a source of infinite anguish. They are his brethren, and He is not ashamed to call them such, who have broken the laws of God, who are living and rioting in that sin which God abhors. It is in their behalf, his tender relationship to them bringing the awful load of their shame on his divine heart, that He answers to eternal justice, and meets the condemnation launched against them. This brotherliness, this oneness with all sinners, so that their shame became his shame, was more than everything outward which embittered his lot. . . . This being the brother of a rebellious race, and confessing himself such while He is without sin, is what singles out Christ, from all that have ever lived on the earth, as peculiarly the burdened, and bruised, and rejected, and stricken One."

We are glad that Dr. Manning's influence, so salutary, so evangelical in the best and unperverted sense of that word, will be extended by the publication of these sermons. The Old South Church, enriched with this legacy from their honored pastor, can do the church at large good service by promoting their circulation.

W. E. Merriman.

BOSTON.

SIGNS OF PROMISE. Sermons preached in Plymouth Pulpit, Brooklyn, 1887-9. Printed from Stenographic Reports. New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. 1889.

The author of these sermons is the spiritual adviser of a larger number of persons than any single writer or speaker in America. Even while Mr. Beecher was living, many who more or less consciously made him their "Father" were glad to find in Dr. Abbott an "Instructor in Christ," who, when they desired a reason for the faith that was in them, could give them answers, as it were, in their own vernacular, easily remembered and repeated. Now that the voice which is heard in Plymouth pulpit is the same which has so long spoken through the editorials and expositions of the beloved paper, there is surely no other oracle so widely consulted and appealed to. Men and women distressed by riddles of Scripture, offended by caricatures of the truth, harassed by current forms of doubt, perplexed as to questions of general ethics or personal duty, have come to look for guidance, or gratefully ascribe their relief, to this source.

The consciousness of this need appealing to him, the calm assurance that he possesses a supply for it, and an eager love for his task, furnish the preacher with the inspiration and impulse for these sermons. They

are not separate wholes, each elaborating some text or embodying symmetrically some truth, they are parts of a continuous message addressed to an audience visible and invisible, chapters in an epistle, shaped to meet the difficulties of faith in this generation, as the Epistles of Paul arose out of the present and pressing needs of his contemporaries. It is certainly this similarity of functions rather than likeness in habit of mind, or thorough appropriation of the thought of the Apostle, which links these sermons so closely to his writings. Eleven out of eighteen are headed with texts from his Epistles, and his name, cited either to introduce his words or his experience, looks out from almost every page. This, too, is an age of transition. Old truth must be preserved; new truth must be appropriated and adjusted; new occasions are teaching new duties. Men at their wits' end in this perilous yet glorious process look to Dr. Abbott for guidance, and in these sermons, with an alacrity, a confidence in his "Gospel," and an assurance of "calling" which are entirely Pauline, he responds.

To serve the average man in such a crisis, his life, training, temperament furnish him with unequaled elements of equipment: a familiarity with the Bible which saturates language, feeling, and thought; a personality thoroughly Christianized, effacing self, absorbed in the ardor of ministry, loyal to the truth, candid and tolerant, yet zealous and confident; an easy mastery of the results of scholarship, which, without making original contributions, has digested truth of all kinds, and is equipped to meet the objector from every direction; a minute sympathy with the life and thought of the day, not having perhaps a pastor's range, but enriched by a journalist's contact with many minds; a lucidity of thought and simplicity of utterance, with a homeliness almost of illustration which keep him not only well in sight but at the side, linked arm in arm with his auditor. Thus furnished to gain the attention, win the confidence and esteem, and carry the judgment, he here presents truth rooted in the past, sanctioned by revelation, related to the thought and duties of to-day, and fortified on every side against current forms of attack.

These sermons will not convict the impenitent and obdurate. They will not secure the approval of scholarship for any new interpretations, or solve any unexplored mysteries. They will not convince the scientific agnostic or the Calvinistic dogmatist, who are almost too often summoned to these pages to be refuted and discomfited in silence. But to that class, large in our day, "perplexed in faith but pure in deeds," who would believe if they could, but are offended by dogma and alarmed by skepticism, they cannot fail to restore light and courage.

C. L. Noyes.

SOMERVILLE, MASS.

COLLOQUIES ON PREACHING. By HENRY TWELLS, M. A., Honorary Canon of Peterborough Cathedral, Rector of Waltham, Leicestershire, and Rural Dean. Pp. 248. London: Longmans, Green & Co; and New York, 15 East 16th Street. 1889.

This is by far the best book on preaching which the English Church has put forth since the volume of "Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures," edited by Bishop Ellicott, appeared, which was chiefly valuable for the lecture on "The Emotions in Preaching," by Archbishop Thomson. The

title is true to the contents of the book. The author has the rare good sense to dispense with a preface, and to allow the characters to begin at once to speak for themselves. The sermon, as it is to be heard in English churches, is made the subject of very bright and free discussion by nearly all classes of people concerned with it,—church wardens, club men, the squire and his guest, Hodge and his wife, the old lady and her maid, the Churchman and the Salvationist, the lawyer, the doctor, and the merchant, and various other parties, including the clergy themselves. There are twenty of these colloquies, and most of them are fresh, natural, and to the point. Canon Twells is generally stronger in criticism than in suggestion. Hodge talks better to his wife than the bishop to the archdeacon, or the father to the son. When the canon gives advice through his characters, or sets forth his own idea of preaching, we feel that his words are vigorous and wholesome, but still lacking in the highest intellectual or spiritual stimulus. But his humor is at times delicious. Here is a bit from the opening of the colloquy between the Old Lady and her Maid.

SCENE: *The Parlor of a Small House.*

O. L. Martha!

M. Yes, Mum.

O. L. Sit down, Martha. Put that hearth-brush aside. This is your first Sunday with me, and therefore you have not yet got to know my manners and customs. Unfortunately my maid, as a general rule, is unable to attend morning service. It is my plan, therefore, to have her in of an afternoon, and to talk to her about the sermon to which I have been privileged to listen.

M. (*a little frightened*). Yes, Mum.

O. L. I am told that the Queen does the same with *her* maids.

M. La! does she now?

O. L. Not, you know, that they are maids like you: but maids of honor and that. Often and often, Martha, I bless God for sermons. You see I lead a rather lonely life. My eyes are bad, and I can read but little. The Sunday sermon gives me things to think about.

M. But they do say, Mum, that the vicar is n't much of a preacher.

O. L. I know where you got that. It's Mrs. Gibbs' Ann. Don't you mind Mrs. Gibbs' Ann. Much she knows about preaching. The vicar suits *me*. He may n't be fine, but he's thoughtful. Now, Martha, don't twiddle your thumbs, but just hear what I have to say.

M. Yes, Mum. Mrs. Gibbs' Ann, she asked me if I thought that you was converted. She said she was afraid not.

O. L. Mrs. Gibbs' Ann is a Wesleyan Methodist. She has not had the advantage, poor thing, of the teaching of our Church. If Mrs Gibbs' Ann would keep her mistress's house a little cleaner, instead of judging other people, it might be better. But listen. The text this morning was part of the twenty-ninth psalm: "The Lord shall give his people the blessing of peace." Now, Martha, most probably you have often heard these words without thinking much about them. So have I, I am sorry to say, but I hope I shall never hear them in that careless way again. There's a deal of meaning in them. Take this prayer-book, and find the place.

The colloquy of the lawyer, doctor, and merchant gives the canon the opportunity to say some very good things in behalf of the clergy through the reply of the merchant to the criticisms of the lawyer and doctor. But the chief object of the book is to show the clergy of the English Church what people are saying, or might be saying, about the sermons they hear. And whether the style is serious or humorous, it is throughout a sincere and manly plea for better preaching, a protest against the

subordination of the sermon to ritual or routine. The book is written on the background of English society and the English Church, but any one, as he reads it, can make the application where it may be equally needed.

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

THE CHURCH IN MODERN SOCIETY. By JULIUS H. WARD. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1889.

Mr. Ward has here made a very earnest plea for the unity of the church, in many respects the most effective now before the public. The strength of his argument lies in its moral persistence. He pushes his ideas and convictions hard against the line of practicability, not violently, but resolutely and hopefully. The book is written with full appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome, but without any surrender of purpose. The progress of thought on the part of the writer can be measured by the growth of conviction on the part of the reader. When one lays the book down, the unity of the church seems more necessary and less impracticable as a final result than when he took the book in hand. And yet Mr. Ward has advocated no scheme of unity. He has simply lodged the *idea* in the mind.

Mr. Ward's plea is for the recovery of the church to its organic influence in society. Once the church had this kind of influence. This was the power of the church of the Middle Age. Much that belonged to its influence at that time has become obsolete. Much that would then have been inconsistent with it has now become necessary, not only to its influence, but to its life. The Reformation gave the individual a new and abiding place in the church and in society. But the individualism of the modern church has been developed at the expense of institutionalism. This result is particularly true of religious life in this country. "The defect of American Christianity lies in its individualism, in its hand-to-hand methods, in the narrowness of its religious beliefs, and in its slight grasp of the central truth of the Incarnation." "The religion of this country has been characterized as a 'commonwealth of sects.'" "American Christianity is weak to-day because it has no recognized voice. There is no national note about it. Whether Protestant or Catholic, it is the religion of specialists and has no national or race significance." "The national mark of our religion is that it does not control society. The religious element is absent from the common life of the people."

These quotations, taken from various chapters, indicate the author's point of view. The weakness of modern, especially of American, Christianity as a *social* power is the refrain of the book. Religion is busy about the regeneration of the individual; it is not saving society. Any one may say, of course, that the regeneration of the individual goes far toward the saving of society. One may go further and say that society cannot be saved except through the regeneration of the individual. Still we believe that Mr. Ward is right in laying the stress which he does upon the social need. Society is more than the sum of the units of which it is composed. Otherwise, how is it that corporations made up of Christian individuals so often go wrong? Why the proverb in Christian communities that "corporations have no soul"? There is a possible social

conscience, possible if society can be acted upon as the individual is acted upon. But society is not acted upon in any large and steady way through a common Christianity. The church at large does not command society as the local church commands its individual membership. Somehow there is an immense loss of authority in the combined action of the churches. All the churches do not begin to have the power which the one church might have in its unity.

The unity of the church is the postulate which Mr. Ward lays down for its organic influence in society. While it is dissevered and disjointed, it cannot come into organic relations to society. It may be a spiritual presence, working zealously for good, but not a social reality like the state, "dealing with humanity as a whole." The analogy of the state may be easily overworked. The church must always act in considerable degree by forces which are intangible. And it must be so much more than the state, while it seems to be so much less. But certainly it cannot claim institutional power, as Mr. Ward clearly points out, while it contents itself with reaching only a part of the humanity common to it with the state. The design of each of the three great institutions, the family, the state, and the church, is universal. Sectarianism can never represent the power or the glory of institutionalism.

But granting the social loss from the want of unity in the church, is there any help for it? Can we really hope for any better state of things? Must we not make up our minds to the diversities of Protestantism if we are to have its abounding vitality? The book before us is a hopeful answer to these questions, partly because it does not promise too much. The problem is not underestimated. The chapter on Constructive Unity in Religious Forces opens with a frank statement of the difficulties which beset the different organizations in their endeavor to realize a conscious unity. No one is complete enough in its present working life to offer itself as the inclusive form. Mr. Ward is an Episcopalian, yet of the Anglican Church he writes: "The Anglican Church in its American growths is based upon the fundamental principle of historical continuity and the recognition of the institutional character of Christianity; but, as it has been mainly developed in this country, it has quite too little taken the catholic position to which it is entitled. It is only here and there that its development has answered to its inherent character. It supplies the basis by which Protestantism may escape from its insularity and rise to the comprehension and freedom which are demanded of the Christian religion in a great democratic country like our own; but it can never expand to a dominating position or meet the demands of a work like this without the coöperation of every religious body in America which maintains any vital principle of Christianity, and by virtue of that principle is entitled to fellowship in the Kingdom of God." Such an acknowledgment as this is in itself a step toward unity. And to our view nothing is so hopeful as the growing humility of the better minds in all the sects in regard to polity, united with a growing agreement in regard to doctrine. We have reached the stage of appreciation of the value of principles other than our own. Toleration of the rights of others has passed into the valuation of their inheritances. We are beginning to act upon the advice of the Apostle, "Not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others." Or, to borrow the sententious language of our author, "What the churches are in the way of help to society comes mainly from the magnitude and strength of their agree-

ments." And again, "The piety of the hour is the substitution of charity for self-will."

It is not well to impose too narrow limits upon the spirit of unity which is beginning to actuate modern Christianity. Let the *spirit* grow and prevail. That alone can determine, as it alone can produce, the form. Let nothing be done to hinder the spirit. All officious books and all contentious books are equally out of place. It is the good fortune of Mr. Ward to have written a book which is really helpful to the desired end.

We have reserved no space in which to refer to the incidental features of this argument for the unity of the church, but we would especially commend, for its spiritual naturalness and simplicity, the chapter on "The Spiritual Method of the Church."

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

FREE TRADE IN CAPITAL, or Free Competition in the supply of Capital to Labour, and its Bearings on the Political and Social Questions of the Day. By A. EGMONT HAKE, Chairman of the Free Trade in Capital League, and O. E. WESSLAU. London: Remington & Co. 1890.

This is a work of considerable art and power, strictly on the lines of old-fashioned English political economy. It is intended as an attack upon the Bank of England and the English system of banking at large, and as a plea for out-and-out free banking. The authors, believing as little as did Ricardo in any sort of governmental surveillance over business, insist that the logic of free trade in international commerce, which has in England never been applied to banking, should be rigidly carried out. To the failure herein they trace all the economic misery of England in recent years. If free banking had prevailed, they would have us believe, such prosperity would have resulted as to have rendered impossible not only all riots and strikes, but the entire social ferment which has of late characterized English history. Their precept is, therefore, "Back to Ricardo," only they would make banking freer than Ricardo ever thought of doing. To establish their positions, the authors present some ten or fifteen introductory chapters, which are exceedingly interesting and valuable in spite of the fact that, to a great extent, they thresh old straw. The first chapter deals with capital, the second with the division of labor, the third with money in its two characters of value-measurer and medium of exchange. The fourth makes it clear that these two functions may easily be subserved by different materials. This chapter contains a rare bit of monetary history concerning the Mark Banco of Hamburg, which, consisting in silver rated according to quantity and fineness, was for centuries the standard of value in Hamburg, though naturally it did not circulate.

The book contains a great deal of keen, thorough, and beautiful economic analysis, of the sort which many teachers neglect in these days, when too much is made, relatively, of mere descriptive economics. It has rich information, also, on the nature of banking as practiced in different countries, and on the minutiae of the foreign exchange business. These aspects of the volume cannot be too strongly praised. They make it a worthwhile contribution to economic literature.

This is about as far as commendatory criticism of the work can go. Many views which the authors lay down we consider altogether wrong.

The contention of the bi-metallists they wholly misconceive. Public education they denounce, wishing us to believe that England would have been better off if the state had never undertaken to educate. Of the factory acts it is said that they are "worse than useless when times are bad and ridiculously superfluous when times are good." All intervention of the state in the domain of industry is declared inevitably an evil, and the entire movement toward state socialism considered a piece of insanity. There is not the slightest appreciation of the great socialistic thinkers, or of their arguments.

What may be regarded the main thesis of the volume is that the free circulation of bank notes by private corporations and individuals without let or hindrance from the state would cure all economic woes. In England itself it would abolish the sweating system. It would solve the Irish question, restore the ancient prosperity of Egypt, and establish, if not a political imperialism of Great Britain and the colonies, at least an economic one. The authors trace all the world's economic distress to the sundering, through over-regulated banking, of capital and labor. Capitalists are scrambling to get their capital used so as to receive interest. Laborers are equally anxious to secure labor, that is, get into coöperation with capital. Each side to a painful extent fails, and the failure is due to the lack of freedom in the issue of notes. Let every one who can market promissory notes, putting them into circulation as money, and the problem is solved.

The theory of the economic evils of society here propounded, and of the cure, is very similar to that set forth a year ago by Mr. Hugo Bilgram, of Philadelphia, in a bright little book entitled "Involuntary Idleness." Mr. Bilgram and the writers of the volume before us contend that at present only the rich can secure discounts. Producers with little capital cannot do this, but are at the mercy of money-lenders. They can at best tide over pinches in their business by mortgaging their little property, which they do not love to do. They therefore keep their production and their power to employ labor down to the lowest terms, instead of making both as large as they would inevitably be if easier credit conditions prevailed. Bilgram would relieve this difficulty by giving all citizens the privilege of securing greenbacks from the government on the hypothecation of any and every sort of property. The present authors would procure the same result by absolute freedom in the issue of bank notes.

Were this possible, they think, small bankers would start up in every community, whose profits would depend upon the widest possible dissemination of their notes (through discounting) consistent with the safety of their loans. That is, every small producer who was at the same time honest, capable, and likely to succeed, would have credit forced upon him instead of its being withheld as now. Multitudes of men working for wages and salaries would become producers on their own account. Middlemen would be immensely reduced in numbers. Labor would find capital, and capital would find labor.

Such is the new social panacea. In the way of criticism our first question is whether such a system would work as smoothly, justly, and automatically as these gentlemen suppose. There is no doubt that freer banking would be a blessing to England and to Germany. It is possible that in communities so thickly settled as those of Great Britain the free issue of notes would operate somewhat in accord with the theory of this book.

The overwhelming preponderance of economic opinion in England and on the Continent is in favor of some such system rather than of that on which the Bank of England is based. Yet it seems to us both visionary and vicious to advocate free banking as universally safe and feasible. Experience, notably that of the United States from 1814 to 1863, reveals that in sparsely settled localities, at any rate, such a plan is certain to put into circulation vast amounts of poor bills, swindling the unwary and the poor, driving hard money from circulation, raising and distracting prices, and provoking and aggravating commercial crises. We believe that such unhealthy inflation may occur at least locally even when no bills are legal tender and all are instantly convertible. It is not true that the public will infallibly determine the solidity of every bank and curtail its credit just where this ought to be done. The notes will wander to a distance and not be returned as the theory supposes. The acceptance of them may be to a certain degree compulsory, even when not explicitly so. They may form so great a part of the circulation that people have to accept them for lack of other media of exchange. The poor are never in condition to refuse what is offered them as money, even if not too ignorant to suspect it.

If the unhampered issue of bankers' notes were to operate so neatly as Messrs. Hake and Wesslau believe, we should be in favor of it, because it would certainly do some good. It is incredible, however, that it should in any case be so beneficent an ordinance as they think. Discount banking is already free, and note issuing is of use only to enable a banker to carry further his discount business. In kind, all the motives so well described by our authors, tending to crowd credit upon competent producers with small capital, are active already. The unrestrained marketing of notes or private account might somewhat quicken these motives, and perhaps aid a little in bringing them to effect. That it could, even if admissible in other particulars, have more than this insignificant result, does not appear.

Lastly, the notes of mere private parties and firms, however sure to be cashed instantly on presentation, must constitute an insufferably poor currency in comparison with either greenbacks or national bank notes.

E. Benj. Andrews.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., 72 COLLEGE ST.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE NATION. Consumption Limited, Production Unlimited. By EDWARD ATKINSON, LL. D., Ph. D., Author of "The Distribution of Products," "The Margin of Profits," etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons; The Knickerbocker Press. 1890.

Mr. Edward Atkinson has here collected some essays published in "The Century Magazine," and "The Forum." There has been no attempt to correlate these papers, consequently there is a lack of unity about the book that is to be regretted. The first paper, a commencement address, is so diffuse and personal as to injure the scientific value of the work, though adding to its human interest; the same may be said of the last chapter upon "Religion and Life." Naturally, a good deal of repetition follows from the mere collection of magazine articles. There is further an occasional failure to make plain the logical connection between propositions which makes the work hard reading. But these minor criticisms do not detract seriously from the solid worth of

these essays of a serious, observant man trained to business; one, too, whose philanthropy and intellectual honesty are always impressive. In his fundamental proposition, "Consumption Limited, Production Unlimited," he finds nothing but promise for the future of the human race. It must be admitted that science more than keeps up with population. But this does not, as he seems to think, prove Malthusianism wrong, nor overthrow the "Law of Diminishing Returns from Land." A little practical farming in central Dakota would convince him that there is much truth in the orthodox economic doctrine. This does not state that there will be no addition to the product from the application of additional capital, but that at a certain point the return ceases to be in proportion to the capital. The exhibition of the food resources of the United States is an exceedingly interesting one; but is it not a little sanguine to say that "A knowledge of the alphabet of food is what is needed in order that all alike may have their necessary equal share of food"? — not that Mr. Atkinson is wrong in thinking that just this subject of consumption is the undeveloped subject in theoretical and practical economics. Indeed, the chapter on "The Missing Science" deserves very careful study. Such serious and intelligent contributions to the subject of economical consumption have great value; certainly they hasten the time when scientific cooking will be understood and taught experimentally in our public schools. There could be no more important study, from an economic point of view alone, if national savings are a question of five cents daily savings per capita, as Mr. Atkinson thinks.

The interesting chapters upon "The Food Question in America and Europe" and "The Relative Strength and Weakness of Nations" exhibit, by the graphic method of lines, our strength and Europe's weakness; a fact which he presents in the startling form of "Disarm or Starve," so large is the proportion of the product of labor that is consumed by soldiers in idleness. Mr. Atkinson computes the proportion of national taxation to estimated product at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the United States against 15 per cent. in France, and while the annual labor of 500,000 men sustains, in the United States, all the functions of the national government, directly or indirectly, in France it requires the labor of 3,000,000 men to do this. The heading of another chapter, "Low Prices, High Wages, Small Profits," is a volume in itself. One of the curious facts he here brings out is "that the conversion of corn into pork is an absolute and total waste of nutritious food," and "all the pork could be spared and yet the daily ration — of the American workman — would be more than ample."

Upon the subject of "Progress and Poverty" his conclusions tally with those reached by Mr. Wells. "The capitalists are working under an imperative law of diminishing profits. The workingmen who do the work intelligently and skillfully are progressing under an imperative rule by which their wages are increased while the purchasing power of their wages is yet more increased." The rule is then "Progress from Poverty," which is indeed the title of a subsequent chapter.

The "Single Tax" system receives small favor at his hands. So many a popular nostrum is unable to stand up before so practical a man as Mr. Atkinson. It is this contact with reality that makes these essays so healthful, especially to those who live more in ideals. We confess to a feeling of dizziness when Mr. Atkinson soars into the future upon his numerical pinions. Small fractions are dangerous when one multiplies

by millions. Finally, averages are instructive but misleading. A few Vanderbilts average per capita wealth up rapidly. We want to know the relation of numbers to the average. In as far as Mr. Atkinson has thrown his facts into classes, he has done statistics a service. Perhaps it remains true that social reformers still regard too much the exceptions — forgetting the rule. Here, again, such generalizations as crowd this book are useful.

D. Collin Wells.

ANDOVER, MASS.

ESSAYS ON GOVERNMENT. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1889.

Of the five essays which make this book, three discuss subjects which belong to our political life. The first of these, which treats of "Cabinet Responsibility," combats the opinion that the Constitution ought to be amended so as to give members of the cabinet seats in the House of Representatives and empower them to introduce and advocate there financial and other measures. This scheme, if implying that the cabinet officers would be removable by Congress, and only by it, would, Mr. Lowell justly thinks, involve both taking all governing power from the President, and the rapid centralization of the government. In short, it would mean the abandonment of our present political system for another not so well adapted to the conditions of our national life. The suggestion that the cabinet officers be given seats without votes Mr. Lowell passes over with the remark that this would either make no material change in the working of the government, or amount to entire cabinet responsibility. But he does not try to prove this, and his essay may fairly be charged with incompleteness at this point.

The second essay, entitled "Democracy and the Constitution," shows the admirable adaptation of our Constitution to the life of a democratic country. Just such restraints upon the popular will as are needed to prevent excessive and enfeebling legislation are furnished by its complicated system of checks and balances. The third paper, which is entitled "The Responsibilities of American Lawyers," points out very forcibly how much the stability of our institutions depends upon the way the legal profession performs the task given it of authoritatively interpreting the Constitution. . . . "It is because our people care more for their Constitution than for any single law enacted by the legislature that constitutional government is possible among us. So long as such a feeling continues, our Constitution and the power of our courts will remain unimpaired; but if at any time the people conclude that constitutional law, as interpreted by lawyers, is absurd or irrational, the power of the judiciary will inevitably vanish, and a great part of the Constitution will be irretrievably swept away. Our constitutional law depends for its force upon the fact that it approves itself to the good sense of the people; and the power of the courts is held upon condition that the precedents established by them are wise, statesmanlike, and founded upon enduring principles of justice which are worthy of the respect of the community."

The last two essays are careful studies in political science; the first, a sketch of the history of the "social compact theory," is a valuable contribution to the history of political speculation; the second, a discussion of

"the limits of sovereignty," argues convincingly against Austin's doctrine that sovereign power cannot be limited.

The book is an interesting illustration of the way a mind trained in constitutional law approaches the problems of free government, and is likely to foster a healthy political conservatism.

Edward Y. Hincks.

GESCHICHTE DER PÄPSTE SEIT DEM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS. Von DR. LUDWIG PASTOR, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität zu Innsbruck. Zweiter Band. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1889.

The first volume of this Catholic History of the Popes was noticed in this journal at page 656 of vol. viii. The second appeared at the close of 1889. It covers the period from the beginning of the reign of Pius II., 1458, to the close of that of Sixtus IV., 1484.

This volume exhibits throughout the same characteristics as the first, but the period of which it treats is one of far less general interest. The details of papal policy are minutely followed; something more of general interest is added in the negotiations with Louis XI., of France, and with the Bohemians concerning reunion. The Turkish war is continued, and the papacy is depicted as a bulwark of Christendom, though often discouraged by the apathy of Western Europe and the selfishness of the Italian states. Italy with its internal politics necessarily occupies a large share of the book, though hardly beginning as yet to have the general interest which will speedily attach to it as the stage upon which the great drama of modern international politics is to begin. The conspiracy of the Pozzi is discussed with the aid of new material, but with no important new conclusions. Pope Sixtus, whose weaknesses, at least, are not disguised, encouraged the political conspiracy, according to the author, but knew nothing of the intended murder.

Attached to the volume is an appendix of some forty pages in reply to the more important criticism on the first volume. In this, mention is made of French, English, and Italian translations of that volume completed or undertaken.

The announcement is made that volume third will finish the reign of Leo X., covering thus a period fully equal in general interest to that of the first volume.

George B. Adams.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS. THE HANSA TOWNS. By HELEN ZIMMERN, Author of "A Life of Lessing," "Heroic Tales from Firdusi," etc. Pp. xvii, 389. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

This very easily read book fills in to the full of our need the shadowy conception we previously had of the great Hanse League, which began of itself, no one just knows when, controlled the whole commerce of the North for some two centuries, swept into its compact some two or three hundred German towns, constituted a veritable "Hanse nation," which was a nation for one end only; commerce became so wealthy that, to emphasize its merchant modesty, it only permitted its subject burghers to put eighty dishes on a table at one entertainment, opened

to them a various life extending from Novgorod to Jerusalem, crushed implacably all rivals, under the lead of Lubeck, its permanent head, and perished at last of the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, the change in the migrations of that little fish, the herring, on which it rested, and of its obstinate and boorish incapacity to see the marks of a widening era.

Not the least interesting side of the story is the description of the many generations of steady faithfulness to compacts, during which the English allowed the Easterlings to rule them commercially. Elizabeth at last set her people free, but while resolute for them, did not drive out the Germans until they showed that they would have all or nothing. The economist Therold Rogers seem justified in his enthusiasm over the economical side of the great Queen's policy. But only in 1853 did the Germans finally part with the London Steelyard. And only last year did the last relic of the mighty league disappear by the compelled yet voluntary entrance of Hamburg into the German Zollverein.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

IRIS: Studies in Colour and Talks about Flowers. By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D. D., Professor of Theology, Leipsic. Translated from the original by the Rev. A. CUSIN, M. A., Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1889.

"The prismatic colors of the rainbow, the brilliant sword-lily, that wonderful part of the eye which gives it its color, and the messenger of heaven who beams with joy, youth, beauty, and love, are all named Iris." So the learned author explains the title of these curious yet captivating studies.

The charm of Dr. Delitzsch's personal character invests the contents. He treats lovingly of "The Blue of the Sky," of "Black and White" as the colors of ecclesiastical dress, of "Purple and Scarlet," and of "Academic Official Robes and their Colors." No one can call him unscientific and untheological. With the scholar he blends, however, in a thoroughly German way, the child and the poet.

It is over twenty years since Lazarus Geiger, at a conference of naturalists at Frankfort-on-Main, showed that color-sense in primeval man was comparatively impotent. Mr. Gladstone's studies in Homer looked to a similar result. Dr. Delitzsch illustrates the blindness of the ancients to the blue of the sky, especially of the day-sky, in a most interesting way. Not a word in praise of that lovely color does he find in the Rig-Veda, though blue is the color of Indra, the sky god. Neither does the old Persian Avesta ever anywhere celebrate the blue of the sky. The North Semitic languages have not even an adjective for blue, nor has the Egyptian. Yet Egypt and Babylon both knew blue mineral dyes. In the Edda its waves are of the terrestrial, never of the celestial ocean. The classical literature of Greece, under its laughing canopy of azure, betrays the same lack. Not till the third century before our era do the old Latin poets designate heaven by the color-name *cæruleus*; thenceforward it is a favorite pictorial epithet. Outside of Holy Scripture, the Chinese seem to have the priority in color-perception and color-expression, since their Schi-King, before the seventh century, calls the sky the vaulted blue.

Dr. Delitzsch concedes that the Hebrew had no specific word for sky-

blue. Yet even here the Book of books maintains its uniqueness in the literature of nations. It calls to its aid the *transparent sapphire* under the feet of the God of Israel. Sapphire-blue is the blue of heaven. It is the hue of the Covenant. Hence the Israelitic fringes were meant to recall God. The old tradition of the painters makes blue the color of the upper garment of our Lord, who stooped from the throne of light to the manger and the cross.

Something of the simple joy and jubilant mirth of Israel, which the author is sure survived the exile, survives in his chapter on "Dancing and the Criticism of the Pentateuch."

The German colors are red, black, and white, — colors, he says, essential to man as such. Who will not echo his prayer of youthful fervor and patriarchal benignity, "May the German Empire, in conformity with its colors, approve itself a helper of humanity, — a helper, that is, of the religious and moral disposition and destination which are set before us by the Sinaitic law, and its profounder exhibition in the Sermon on the Mount, as the bond and goal of the human brotherhood!"

John Phelps Taylor.

WORDSWORTHIANA. A Selection from Papers read to the Wordsworth Society. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT. Pp. xxi, 342. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889. \$2.25.

The Wordsworth Society was formed in 1880, and held meetings annually until 1886, when it dissolved, having accomplished the work it had to do. It was at first a private club, with a small number of members. As the plan became known, a large number of persons desired to join it, and at the last annual meeting the society had 344 members. It included some of the most distinguished men of England, such as Professor William Knight, Robert Browning, John Ruskin, Lord Coleridge, Lord Selborne, R. H. Hutton, the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of London, the Dean of Salisbury, Matthew Arnold, and Edward Dowden. The objects of the society were not only to draw together those who were in sympathy with the literary spirit and teaching of Wordsworth, but to carry on the literary work that remained to be done in connection with the text and chronology of the poems; to collect original letters and reminiscences of the poet; to prepare a record of opinions with reference to Wordsworth, and to investigate various points connected with the first appearance and history of his works. A volume of Transactions was printed each year, and issued to the members. It includes a report of the meeting, the papers read, and others prepared for publication only.

The volume before us contains twenty papers, selected from a much larger number in the seven volumes of the Transactions of the Society. Readers of Wordsworth will be likely to turn first to the paper by Mr. H. D. Rawnsley entitled, "Reminiscences of Wordsworth amongst the Peasantry of Westmoreland." The writer, coming to reside in the lake country, set himself to gather up the memories of the poet among the dalesmen. He found an aged woman who had once been at service at Rydal Mount; an old man who used to provide meat for the kitchen; another who had been employed in his youth in Wordsworth's garden; two old house-builders who used to meet the poet almost every day; and still another who had lived for years as a servant in the family at Rydal

Mount. All these had pleasant recollections of the poet. They describe his dress, his appearance at home and on the streets, his peculiar likes and dislikes. "He went humming and booing about, and Miss Dorothy kept close behind him, and she picked up the bits as he let 'em fall, and put 'em together on paper for him." He was a "plain man, plainly dressed," — "was much on the road with his cloak and umbrella." He had "a great deep voice," — was "fond of his own bairns," but not of those of other folks. "He was a' for study," and would n't come to dinner when he was called; he went every Sunday to church and sat in his own pew, the second or third from the front on the right from the chancel.

Another interesting paper is on the portraits of Wordsworth, by Professor Knight. He gives the history of forty-two portraits, including some busts. The best of these are the ones painted by Henry Inman, an American; B. R. Haydon, "Wordsworth upon Helvellyn;" and one by the elder Pickersgill. Very valuable also are the addresses delivered at the annual meetings by the presidents of the society, — by Matthew Arnold, in 1883; James Russell Lowell, in 1887; Lord Houghton, in 1885; and Lord Selborne, in 1886. The final meeting of the society was held in London, in the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster. The great feature of this meeting, besides the president's address, was a paper, read by Professor John Veitch, of the University of Glasgow, on "The Theism of Wordsworth." It is the most satisfactory discussion we have seen of the religious element in his poetry. The writer discusses the passages which seem to have a pantheistic tendency. But he quotes other passages which show that the poet regarded the transcendent Power as personal, with intellect, and will, and emotion, fully conscious of himself and of his workings. "Man is the nearest type of God, and every step we take in nobler effort is a stage of assimilation with the Divine."

Other papers in the volume are, — The Platonism of Wordsworth; Wordsworth's Modernization of Chaucer, by Professor Edward Dowden; Earlier and Later Styles of Wordsworth, by R. H. Hutton; Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes, by Stopford Brooke; Personal Character of Wordsworth's Poetry, by Aubrey de Vere; Wordsworth's Position as an Ethical Teacher, by the Dean of Salisbury; The Poetic Interpretation of Nature, by Roden Noël; Wordsworth's Relation to Science: his Treatment of Sound; Wordsworth and Charles Lamb; Wordsworth and Turner; and The Poets who helped to form his Style.

This volume shows, in a very clear way, the hold which the poetry of Wordsworth has upon the men of greatest intellectual power, and of the highest culture, in Great Britain.

Ezra Hoyt Byington.

WORCESTER, MASS.

PORTRAITS OF FRIENDS. By JOHN CAMPBELL SHAIRP, Author of "Culture and Religion." With a Sketch of Principal Shairp, by WILLIAM YOUNG SELLARS, and an Etched Portrait. Pp. 212. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. \$1.25.

Thomas Arnold and John Shairp were both connected with Rugby, though not contemporarily. They were both devoted to the kingdom of God, but the former chiefly as leavening the nations, the latter chiefly as developing itself interiorly, in the intellect and soul. They are

alike in the completeness and satisfactoriness of their lives; the former massive, the latter slight in mass, but ethereally penetrating. Shairp had a magnificent crown of English and Scottish friends. His portraiture of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, explains why the latter, retired and quiet, was such a power. He combines the depth of mysticism and the distinctness of Calvinism. Shairp shows John Campbell, of Row, as less than Erskine, but better balanced even than he. These men, fathers of the New Theology, point out its great danger, — realized in more than one American example, — namely, that it shall forget that the Fatherhood of God, though supreme, includes the Righteous Governor, and that his end is never to be so urged as to cause men to forget the awfulness of means which he may have to use. The sketch of Norman Macleod is pleasant. He must have been a charming man, though hardly a great one. A kindly notice of that most delightful of men, Dr. John Brown, is given, remarking that in the brief compass of his writings is summed up the best heart of Scotland for many a year back. Shairp himself combines Scottish strength and English culture, and alike in blood and associations, the Celtic Highlands and the Scandinavian Lowlands. An English University man, he remained Presbyterian, and, deeply profiting by Newman, he was never enchanted by the glamour of even a mitigated ritualism, although in his portraiture of Bishop Cotton, the Primate of India, he shows us what grand uses the Episcopal office may always serve where it is filled up to its measure.

Shairp's devotion to Wordsworth at once raises him and his nearest friends, and is elsewhere fully justified by him. In what ideal nobleness and truth does he bring out "The White Doe of Rylestone Hall"!

"Thou, thou art not a child of time
But daughter of th' eternal prime."

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

EMERGENCY NOTES. By GLENTWORTH R. BUTLER, M. D. New York : Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers. 1889.

Dr. Butler has a large hospital practice in Brooklyn, is the medical director of the Red Cross Society of Brooklyn, and a lecturer on Emergencies and Home Nursing. From a material point of view, his book is a little one — containing 102 pages of large print, 5 1-2 by 3 1-4 inches, of which about twenty pages are occupied by the preface, the index, and other auxiliary matter. It is illustrated by seventeen figures.

The design of the work, and the quality of it, are both well represented by the description given on the title-page: "Emergency Notes. What to do in accidents and sudden illness until the doctor comes." For compactness and intelligibility, it would be difficult to excel this, but the book throughout is equally compact and intelligible. As a layman, I am not competent to decide whether it is medically and surgically orthodox, but I know that I could easily commit it to memory, and understand it well enough to follow the instructions it gives; and that is high praise to bestow on such a book.

W. J. Beecher.

AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
AUBURN, N. Y.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Commentar über das Buch Jesaia, von Franz Delitzsch, Vierte durchaus verbesserte Auflage. Mrk. 16. *Die Heilige Schrift und die Negative Kritik*. Ein Beitrag zur Apologetik von E. E. Johansson, Deutsch von J. Clausen. Mit einem Anhang über rechte und falsche Verteidigung der Bible von Franz Delitzsch. Pp. vi, 240. Mrk. 4. *Kephas der Evangelist*. Studien zur Evangelienfrage von Th. H. Mandel. Pp. 139. Dürfling & Franke in Leipzig. Mrk. 2. — The work of Professor Delitzsch is so well known that we need only remark that the present edition, by reason of its great improvement, is really a new commentary, and that an English translation is already in preparation. Dr. Johansson's book will be found of great usefulness. The clear statement of the principles of negative criticism, and the dispassionate discussion of their validity, which characterize the volume and occupy the first sixty-four pages, illuminate many dark places and dispel some current errors. Various traditions, legends, and national myths are considered from the point of view of their general historical conditions. The two chapters, pages 77-232, on the Old and the New Testaments and negative criticism proceed on historical and critical lines, with special reference to negative claims and methods. The author is master of his thoughts, and presents them with delightful terse simplicity. The supplement by Professor Delitzsch is a lecture which was prepared last summer for the Anglo-American Exegetical Society.

Die Entwicklung der modernen Ethnologie, von Dr. Thomas Achelis. Pp. ix, 149. E. S. Mittler und Sohn. Berlin: Königliche Hofbuchhandlung. Mrk. 3. — The purpose of the author is to call the attention of scientific circles to the hopeful condition of this youthful branch of natural philosophy. This purpose is embodied in a very succinct study of the course of modern ethnology in its leading ideas and principles. The *punctum saliens* of the whole investigation is to exhibit the social-psychological aspect of the subject. The standpoint taken is that of the comparative method. This method determines the selection of the writers that are reviewed, and at the same time brings ethnology almost entirely within our own century. The fathers of a scientific sociology in a special sense were Lafitan, Förster, and Chamisso, while Voltaire, Rousseau, Herder, and Schiller are its more general representatives. But ethnology did not rise to the dignity of a social science before the labors of August Comte, who may be regarded as its real founder. The second chapter, pages 27-146, studies the progress of the science through its most prominent disciples. Quetelet and Schäffle emphasize the sociological, while, among others, J. C. Pritchard, Bastian, Waitz, Lubbock, Tylor, and Ratzel have developed the more strictly ethnological side. Dr. Achelis is thoroughly familiar with his subject, and has given an excellent presentation of the character and position of the science.

Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande bis zum Beginne des XI Jahrhunderts, von Adolf Ebert. 3 Bände. Mrk. 33. Erster Band: *Geschichte der christlichlateinischen Literatur* von ihren Anfängen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Pp. xiv, 667. Verlag von F. C. W. Vogel in Leipzig. Mrk. 12. — This work is recognized as one of extraordinary

merit. The literary language of the Middle Age was the Latin, and it may be said that the national literatures of the Western world are members of that organism. Rome gave to the modern world prose and poetic forms as well as law. Dr. Ebert places great emphasis upon the value of a correct analysis of the representative literary productions. Herein is the chief excellency of the work before us. The author has objectified his work. In the various analyses we see form, content, and relations clearly defined. The first volume has been thoroughly revised and much augmented by reason of the recent publications of the "*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*" and the "*Monumenta Germaniæ historica*." Three periods are distinguished, the first from Minucius Felix to Constantine, the second, pages 105-357, to the death of Augustine, and the third closing in the age of Charlemagne with Beda and Boniface. This volume is complete in itself, and furnished with an excellent index. It is a work which may be commended alike to students of history, philosophy, or literature.

Geschichte der Pädagogik, dargestellt in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung und im organischen Zusammenhang mit dem Kulturleben der Völker. 4 Bd. Mrk. 39. Erster Band: *Die Geschichte der Pädagogik in der vorchristlichen Zeit*, vierte Auflage vielfach vermehrt und verbessert, auf den neusten Quellenstudien und Forschungen beruhend, von Dr. Fried. Dittes und Dr. Emanuel Hannak. Pp. xxxii, 958. Cöthen: Paul Schettler's Erben. 1890. Mrk. 12. — The great work on the history of education is, without doubt, that of Schmidt. This fourth edition of the first volume, which comprehends the history of education among the peoples of the Orient, including the Greeks and Romans, not only has no rival, but is a marvel of observation and investigation, the most extensive and accurate yet furnished. The eighty pages which introduce the general subject characterizing the different periods and literary sources, and the forty pages of special introduction to education among the ancients, constitute an invaluable prospect of the whole field. The study opens with the Chinese, Japanese, and Egyptians, pages 118-250, then turns to the Semitic peoples, pages 250-347, of which sixty pages are given to Israel. In the one hundred pages given to the Aryans, India holds the chief position. Education in Greece, pages 446-738, and in Rome, pages 738-925, is presented with completeness without prolixity. Throughout the work, special effort is made to place theories and practical methods in a clear light. It is needless to say that this history is in a very important respect the history of morality, religion, and law among these different peoples. This volume is not of less value to the philosopher and theologian than to the pedagogue. An elaborate index makes the storehouse easily accessible.

Pädagogische Bibliothek. Erster Band: *Einleitung und Geschichte der Pädagogik mit Musterstücken aus den pädagogischen Meisterwerken der verschiedenen Zeiten*. Achte vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage. Pp. viii, 462. Eleg. geb. Mrk. 5. Zweiter Band: *Die systematische Pädagogik und die Schulkunde*. Achte vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage. Pp. xiii, 454. Hannover: Verlag von Carl Meyer (Gustav Prior). Eleg. geb. 1890. Mrk. 5. — Simultaneously appear new and greatly improved editions of the three most serviceable works on Pedagogics in the German language. The above-named volumes by Dr. Schumann constitute an admirable compendium of the whole subject. His work still remains the most popular and satisfactory digest of the history and theory of teaching.

As a handbook, Schumann is to pedagogy what Schwegler is to philosophy. Both volumes have undergone thorough revision in the present edition. In the history we notice a new chapter on education among the early Germans, and at the end of each chapter a brief summary and comparative review. A more complete analysis of difficult historical matter is also given. The systematic part, which grows out of psychology and anthropology, is constructed inductively, bringing into view suggestive lines of experience and observation. The works are noticeably rich in brief and characteristic extracts from the literature of education. The price of the volumes is noticeably in the favor of teachers, as are also the arrangement and condensation of their matter.

Handbuch der Praktischen Pädagogik für höhere Lehranstalten, von Prof. Dr. Herman Schiller. Zweite umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Pp. ix, 658. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland). 1890. Mrk. 10. — This work is receiving the highest commendation from professors as being the latest, best, and most scientific contribution to systematic pedagogy. The second edition followed closely upon the first. The aim of the work is to place the teacher upon a foundation at once theoretical and practical. The author claims to present a practical theory, — a theory that contains nothing which is not based upon long and successful experiment. The general mental coloring of the work may be indicated to the English reader by the names Lotze, Höffding, and Wundt. This is seen in the chapter on "Psychology," pages 79-133, which is about equally divided between psychology proper and ethics. The twenty pages given to ethics are new to this edition, and furnish an excellent statement from the standpoint of experimental psychology. The larger and more constructive part of the work, pages 275-654, is given to methods of instruction. In the part which considers the teaching of languages, pages 292-535, the author has gone far beyond others in his appreciation of structural differences as well as of the necessary qualifications of the instructor. The schemes seem to be well constructed and complete. The work of Dr. Schiller is of a very high order, and should be in the hands of those who are concerned with higher education. It comprehends the school, the scholar, and the teacher; the whole man in his physical, intellectual, and moral development. The chapter on school discipline, pages 133-216, is a valuable little treatise on practical morality, with an introduction on religious duties.

Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in Encyclopädischer Darstellung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Einzelnen Disziplinen, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Otto Zöckler. Dritte sorgfältig durchgesehene, teilweise neu bearbeitete Auflage. Band IV.: *Praktische Theologie*. Pp. viii, 660. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oskar Beck). 1890. Mrk. 10. — The present edition of this excellent handbook shows much improvement. The publishers have issued for the benefit of the holders of the first and second editions, a volume containing subsequent additions. They have also placed the four volumes, Biblical, Historical, Systematic, and Practical Theology, including an index, at the very moderate price of fifty marks. There is no handbook of theological science that rivals this in its completeness and wise division of labor. It is the product of a score of the best scholars in Germany, each making his contribution in his special department. The present volume is the most practical member of the

series, furnishing in a condensed form a complete outline of the various features of practical theology. After an introduction to this branch of theology, the history and theory of missions is presented in its course from Apostolic times to present day activities. An excellent view is given of the evangelical methods of the Middle Ages, but more valuable still is the handling of the problems of modern missions. The commercial spirit is the blasting breath. Catechetics and Homiletics are treated with more emphasis on theory but also in their historical developments. The history of preaching, pages 230-399, is perhaps the most instructive part of the work. With Origen, preaching begins to take form as an art. The art is studied in the Latin homilies and mission sermons of the Middle Ages to its decline before the Reformation. The new period of preaching is presented with reference to Germany, France, and England. Liturgies and Pastorology are ably treated by Professor Dr. T. Harnack. The chapter on the "Diaconate," by Dr. Schäfer, involves an excellent review of questions relating to poverty, pauperism, and relief. The final section is a history of the constitution of the church. The Handbook seems to meet every just demand. Its matter is condensed and systematic. There is reference to an extensive literature in each department, including many works by French and English authors.

Abriß der gesamten Kirchengeschichte, von Prof. Dr. Herzog, w. o. ö. Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von Lic. theol. G. Hoffmann. Erster Band, Erste Abtheilung: *Die alte Kirche auf dem Boden der griechisch-römischen Kultur*. Pp. xi, 414. Erlangen: Verlag von Eduard Besold. 1890. Mrk. 6. — Among many excellent features of Dr. Herzog's work we notice first, that it holds the strong mean between such extensive works as those of Neander, Gieseler, and Baur, and the somewhat inadequate abstracts of Hase and Niedner. The present edition, which covers the whole field of Christian Church History, will be completed in two volumes. The second excellency of the work is the outcome of the author's well-known character as a truth-seeker. Our third note relates to the work of the editor, who has availed himself of the suggestions of special criticisms of the work and devoted much time and judgment in correction, condensation, and addition, that the book may answer the requirements of the present day. The part of the work above indicated is complete in itself, giving the history from the beginning to the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451. Of special interest is the treatment of Gnosticism and Arianism.

H. A. W. Meyer's Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Das Matthäus-Evangelium. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Bernhard Weiss, Oberconsistorialrath und ordentl. Prof. an der Universität Berlin. Pp. iv, 500. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag. 1890. Mrk. 7, geb. 8.60. — Professor Weiss has found it necessary to make a complete revision of Meyer's work on Matthew. The main purpose is to give the text a thorough interpretation and make the commentary strictly exegetical. The original work was neither free from error, nor from matter foreign to its purpose. We may also say that the value of the work was unequal, as many parts were overworked, while others were left without sufficient notice. These weak points have been made strong, and while Dr. Weiss has added much material by his notes and observations, the commentary is not so extended as was the last edition. This arises from striking out the dogmatic and the historico-

critical elements which do not belong in an exegetical work. It is noticeable that the very points in which Meyer's work excelled are those which receive the most thorough attention of Dr. Weiss. The objective point is to make a critical exegesis, and this point is attained with remarkable success. The work, as it now stands, is not only without a rival, but a necessary aid to the study of Matthew.

Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie, von D. Karl Knoke, ord. Prof. d. Theol. an der Universität Göttingen. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage. Pp. vi, 168. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag. Mrk. 2.60. — A few years ago, Professor Knoke published a brief outline for the use of his students. This outline now appears rearranged and enlarged as an aid to students of practical theology. The arrangement as well as the succinct treatment of the various topics will be found of value not only to students, but to all who are called upon to treat the subject.

Das Heidenthum in der römischen Kirche. Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Leben Süditaliens, von Th. Trede. Erster Teil. Pp. iii, 342. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. Mrk. 5. — One would seek long to find more brilliant pictures or a more faithful exposition of the moral, social, and religious life of Southern Italy. Here is an opportunity to look into the home life of the great majority of our Italian immigrants. The author has lived many years in Italy; he knows the people. He is undoubtedly right in saying that the place to study Roman Christianity is Rome, that "the Church" is not identical with Christendom, and that Southern Italy has yet to receive the gospel. But his word-pictures of the people must be seen and read in the seventeen chapters of the work. The book is far more than description of the present life and customs of the people. It is full of historical reflection and solid information, bringing the classic Italy alongside of the Italy of to-day.

Mattoon M. Curtis.

LEIPZIG, GERMANY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. A Sketch of Institutional History and Administration. By Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., LL. D. Pp. xxxvi, 686. 1889; — An Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare. By Hiram Corson, LL. D., Professor of English Literature in the Cornell University. Pp. 397. 1889.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. History of the Old South Church (Third Church), Boston, 1669-1884. By Hamilton Andrews Hill. In two volumes. Vol. I. Pp. xiii, 602; Vol. II. Pp. viii, 688. 1890. \$10.00; — American Religious Leaders: Dr. Muhlenberg. By William Wilberforce Newton, D. D. 16mo, pp. x, 272. 1890. \$1.25.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. The Salt Cellars: Being a Collection of Proverbs, Together with Homely Notes Thereon. M-Z. By C. H. Spurgeon. Second series. Pp. 367. 1890. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fisk & Co., Boston; — The Sermon Bible: Isaiah and Malachi. Pp. vi, 511. 1890. \$1.50.

The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. The One Gospel; or the Combination of the Narratives of the Four Evangelists in One Complete Record. Edited by Arthur T. Pierson. Pp. vi, 203. 1889. 75 cents.

Ivson, Blakeman & Co., New York. An Inductive Latin Method. By William R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor in Yale University, and Isaac B. Burgess, A. M., Latin Master in Rogers High School, Newport, R. I. Pp. viii, 323. 1888; — An Inductive Greek Method. By William R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor in Yale University, and William E. Waters, Ph. D., Cincinnati, Ohio. Pp. 355. 1888.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Christmas Eve: A Dialogue on the Celebration of Christmas. By Schleiermacher. From the German by W. Hastie, B. D. Pp. xx, 80. 1890. \$1.00; — History of Christian Ethics. I. History of Christian Ethics before the Reformation. By Dr. Chr. Ernst Luthardt, Professor of Theology at Leipsic. Translated from the German by W. Hastie, B. D., Examiner in Theology, University of Edinburgh. Pp. xxxii, 388. 1889. \$3.00; — Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl. A Critical Examination. By Leonhard Stahlin, Bayreuth. Translated by D. W. Simon, Ph. D. Pp. xxxii, 327. 1889. \$3.00; — The Prophecies of Jeremiah Expounded by Dr. C. Von Orelli, Basel, author of "Old Testament Prophecy," "The Prophecies of Isaiah," etc. Translated by Rev. J. S. Banks, Headingly College, Leeds. Pp. vii, 384. 1889. \$3.00. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston; — The Hereafter: Sheol, Hades, and Hell. The World to Come, and The Scripture Doctrine of Retribution according to Law. By James Fyfe. Pp. xxiii, 407. 1890. \$3.00.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Church and Creed: Sermons Preached in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. By Alfred Williams Momerie, M. A., D. Sc., LL.D. Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in King's College, London. Pp. vi, 258. \$1.50; — The Language of the New Testament. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M. A. Pp. ix, 226. 75 cents; — A Treatise on Dogmatic Theology. By the Rev. Samuel Buel, S. T. D., Emeritus Professor of Systematic Divinity and Dogmatic Theology in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. In two volumes. Vol. I. Pp. viii, 513; Vol. II. Pp. vii, 700. 1890. \$6.00.

American Publishers' Association, Chicago. Annals of the Earth. By C. L. Phifer, author of "Voices," "Weather Wisdom," "Taphnath-Paaneah," etc. Pp. ii, 289. 1890.

Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn. The Fatherhood of God. By Rev. William Henry Black, D. D., St. Louis, Mo. Pp. ix, 108. 1889. 75 cents.

T. Fisher Unwin, London. The Lady from the Sea. By Henrik Ibsen. Translated, with the author's permission, by Eleanor Marx-Aveling. With Critical Introduction by Edmund Gosse. Cameo Series. Pp. 184. 1890; — Wordsworth's Grave and other Poems. By William Watson. Cameo Series. Pp. 76. 1890; — Reform in Education: Showing the Improvement Possible in the Present Methods. By the Rev. Peter Prescott. Pp. 41. 1890. 6d.

Ernest Leroux, Paris. Les Résultats de L'Exégèse Biblique. Par Maurice Vernes, Directeur Adjoint à L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne). L'Histoire La Religion — La Littérature. Pp. viii, 230. 1890.

J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg, Germany. Theologischer Jahresbericht. Herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. 1889.

PAMPHLETS. — *Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. The Beginnings of American Nationality. By Albion W. Small, Ph. D., President of Colby University. — Inequality of Tax Valuation in Massachusetts. By J. H. Benton, Jr. Addison C. Getchell, Printer, Boston. — Die Katholisierung Englands. Von Dr. Rudolf Buddensieg, Dresden. — Is it Mary or the Lady of the Jesuits? By Justin D. Fulton, D. D. *American Office, Boston.* — A Plea for the Blair Educational Bill. By John Jay, late Minister to Vienna.

